

T R A V E L S
I N
N O R T H - A M E R I C A ,

IN THE YEARS 1780, 1781, AND 1782.

BY THE
MARQUIS DE CHASTELLUX, *K*

ONE OF THE FORTY MEMBERS OF THE FRENCH
ACADEMY, AND MAJOR GENERAL IN THE
FRENCH ARMY, SERVING UNDER THE COUNT
DE ROCHAMBEAU.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH
BY AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN,

WHO RESIDED IN AMERICA AT THAT PERIOD.

WITH NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR.

Πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω. Odyfsey. B.I.

Multorumque hominum vidit urbes, & mores cognovit.

VOLUME I.

L O N D O N :

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ADVERTISEMENT

FROM THE

FRENCH PRINTER.

THE Public have been long informed that the Marquis de Chastellux had written Journals of his Travels in North America, and they seem to have wished to see those Journals more generally diffused. The Author, who had arranged them solely for himself and for his friends, has constantly refused to make them public until this moment. The first and most considerable, in fact, were printed in America; but only twenty-four impressions were struck off, and this with no other view than to avoid the multiplying of copies, which were become indispensably necessary, in a country and at a time when there was very little hope of any packets reaching Europe, but by the means of duplicates. Besides that, he thought proper to avail himself of the small printing press on board the squadron at Rhode Island. Of these twenty-four impressions, not above ten or

twelve reached Europe, and the Author had addressed them all to persons on whom he could rely, and whom he had requested not to suffer any copies to be taken. The curiosity, however, which every thing respecting America at that time inspired, excited much anxiety to read them. They passed successively through a great many hands, and there is reason to believe that the readers have not all been equally scrupulous; nor can it even be doubted that there exist some manuscript copies, which being hastily executed, may be presumed to be incorrect.

In the spring of 1782, the Marquis de Chastellux made a journey into Upper Virginia; and, in the autumn of the same year, another into the States of Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, and the back part of Pennsylvania. According to custom, he wrote journals of these expeditions; but, being on his return to Europe, he reserved them to himself. These therefore are known only to a few friends, to whom he lent them; for he invariably denied the request of many persons, and particularly our own,

own, to empower us to lay them before the Public. One of his friends however, who has a very extensive correspondence in foreign countries, having pressed him much to furnish him with at least a few detached extracts from these journals, for the purpose of inserting them in a periodical work printed at Gotha, the object of which is to collect such works as have not been made public, he consented; and, during a whole year, there appeared in each number of this Journal a few pages taken here and there from those of the Marquis de Chastellux. These extracts were not in a regular series, and were indifferently taken from the first and second parts of the Travels. The Author had used this precaution, to prevent the foreign booksellers from collecting them, and imposing them on the public as a complete work. Experience has proved the insufficiency of this precaution. A printer of Cassel, without any scruple, has collected these detached extracts, and without announcing that they had no coherency, has printed them under the title of *Voyages de Monsieur le Chevalier de Chastellux*, the name the author bore two years ago.

The

The publication of a work so mutilated and unmethodical, and which the Marquis de Chastellux by no means expected, so far from flattering, could not but be displeasing to him. We deemed this a proper opportunity for renewing our instances to him, and have, in consequence, obtained his original manuscript, to which he has been pleased to annex the charts and plans we have made use of. We have lost no time in giving it to the public, and have exerted the utmost pains to render it, from the execution, worthy of the importance of the subject, and of the name and reputation of the Author.

The two geographical charts point out, with the greatest accuracy, not only the country which the Author has travelled through, but all the places at which he stopped, and which he has mentioned in his Journals. For the two charts, we are in great measure indebted to M. Dezoteux, Captain of Dragoons, and joint Quarter-Master, who has corrected and reduced them. This officer having served in America, had himself visited the greatest part of the country pointed out in the charts.

C O N T E N T S

T O T H E

F I R S T V O L U M E.

	Page
T HE Author leaves Newport the 11th of November - - -	4
His arrival at Providence: description of that town - - -	6, 7
He is obliged to remain at Voluntown - - -	9
Description of the inn where he alights - - -	ibid.
The persons whom he met with - - -	10
His departure from Voluntown - - -	20
Description of the country betwixt Voluntown and Windham - - -	21 & seq.
Mrs. Hill's tavern, her charity to a sick soldier - - -	25
The Author stops at East Hartford - - -	26
Particulars of the state of Vermont - - -	27
The origin of the name which this state has assumed - - -	28
His arrival at Hartford - - -	29
Lodges at Colonel Wadsworth's - - -	ibid.
Portrait of the Colonel - - -	30 & seq.
Visit to Governor Trumbull - - -	33

A 4

The

	Page
The Governor's memoirs on the American war	34
Communicated to the Author	ibid.
An interesting fact contained in them	35
Departure from Hartford	36
Description of the country betwixt Hartford and Farmington	37
Manufacture of cloth, &c.	38 & seq.
The Author lodges with Mr. Lewis, to whom he was addressed	40
He sets out for Litchfield	41
Description of a blue Jay which he killed	ibid.
Observations on the nomenclature of the Americans	42
They scarcely employ other but descriptive terms, as blue bird, black bird, instead of Jay, Starling, &c.	43
The Author sees some ground cleared and a new settlement	44
How they proceed to clear the ground	45 & seq.
His arrival at Litchfield	48
Park of Artillery which he meets with near the high road	49 & seq.
The route from Litchfield to Moorhouse's tavern, and the township of Washington	53
Beautiful landscapes formed by a fall of water, and by the forges of Mr. Bull	56
Arrival at the tavern kept by Colonel Moor	57
The Author finds there farmers from New Hampshire conducting oxen to the army	58
Conversation with them	59 & seq.
He arrives at Fishkill	63
Description of the barracks constructed there, as a magazine for the army	64 & seq.
Departure from Fishkill	69
Little camp, or barracks for the invalids, and what we are to understand by invalids	70
The Author stops and alights to enjoy the beautiful prospects which the North River, and the Forts of West Point offered	71
A little further he finds General Heath at the head of 2500 men in battle array	72
He crosses North River in General Heath's barge, and lands at West Point	73

C O N T E N T S.

ix

	Page
The General shews him the disposition which he has made for a manœuvre combined with the great army, and communicates to him the orders given to General Stark	75 & seq.
Particulars of General Heath	78 & seq.
The Author goes on horseback to see the different fortifications of West Point	81
Description of them	82 & seq.
He leaves West Point	87
Breakfasts before he sets out according to the fashion of the country, with beef-steaks, and milk coffee for drink	88
He descends the North River in a barge	89
Description of the country	ibid.
Fort Clinton, how attacked and taken	90
Particulars of King's Ferry, Stoney Point, and Verplank's Point	91 & seq.
Colonel Livingston had some suspicion of Arnold's treason, and thought of taking the <i>Vulture</i> sloop of war	95 & seq.
The Author arrives at the camp of the Marquis de la Fayette	101
Description of the camp	103 & seq.
He continues his journey to join General Washington at Praknesh	108
Description of the cataract, known by the name of Totohaw Fall	109 & seq.
His arrival at head quarters	113
General Washington's reception of him	114
The General shews him the American army in battle array	119 & seq.
The Author visits the American general officers	122
Particulars of these officers	130
Sees a young man of a Dutch family with a monstrous head	131
Particular account of General Knox	132
Departure from Praknesh	136
Character of General Washington	137 & seq.
Colonel Mayland accompanies the Author	141

They

	Page
They stop at Morris Town - - -	143
The Colonel engages the Author, the following day, to dine with his father-in-law, Mr. Vanhorn - - -	147
They pass over the ancient camp at Middlebrook - - -	148
Arrival at Mr. Vanhorn's - - -	149
Who acquaints them that General Lincoln and Lord Cornwallis were at his house the same day - - -	151 & seq.
Description of the country betwixt Mr. Vanhorn's house, and Gregg Town; as also of several positions occupied by the English - - -	156 & seq.
The Author goes to Prince Town, description of its college, or university - - -	160
In what manner the studies are distributed there - - -	161
Description of the country where the battles of Prince Town were fought - - -	164
Particulars of these battles - - -	166
The Author arrives at Trenton - - -	169
Position of the Hessians when they laid down their arms - - -	170
Remarks on this event - - -	171
He goes to Bristol, where he stops to dine - - -	172
Description of the country betwixt Bristol and Philadelphia - - -	173
He arrives at Philadelphia - - -	174
Alights at the Chevalier de la Luzerne's - - -	177
With what people he dined - - -	178
Observations of some customs peculiar to the Americans - - -	184 & seq.
The Author is presented to several families Amongst others to Mrs. Bache, daughter of the celebrated Doctor Franklin - - -	188
He finds her employed in collecting the shirts made by the Philadelphian ladies themselves,	197

CONTENTS.

xi

	Page
themselves, for the soldiers of the Penn- sylvania legion - - - - -	198
He makes acquaintance with Mr. Robert Morris, afterwards Financier General - - - - -	199 & seq.
He reconnoitres the field of battle of Ger- man Town - - - - -	205
Particulars of that action - - - - -	208 & seq.
He pays a visit to Mr. Samuel Adams - - - - -	220
Anecdote of an American whose two sons had deserted, and who, after he had ar- rested them, conducted them himself to their General - - - - -	221
He goes to see the town-house, and the halls in which Congress assembles - - - - -	222 & seq.
The next day he assists at the Assembly of the States of Pennsylvania - - - - -	226
He goes to see Mr. Cimetiere's cabinet of natural history - - - - -	228
The famous Orrery of Mr. Rittenhouse - - - - -	229
Mr. Showel's anatomies - - - - -	232
The Author leaves Philadelphia with several French officers to visit the field of battle at Brandywine - - - - -	235
Account of that battle - - - - -	244
They return to sleep at Chester - - - - -	249
Which they leave the next morning to return to Philadelphia, and remount the river in barges sent to meet them - - - - -	252
Description of the fort of Billingsport - - - - -	253
Description of fort Mifflin on Mud Island - - - - -	254
The Delaware barricaded by chevaux de frise - - - - -	255 & seq.
Redbank fort - - - - -	260
Relation of the fruitless attack made on that fort by Colonel Donop - - - - -	262 & seq.
The Author's return to Philadelphia - - - - -	267
Has a particular conversation with Mr. Samuel Adams - - - - -	268
Who discloses to him the principles of the revolution of America - - - - -	ibid.

And

	Page
And the plan of the new constitution of Massachusetts Bay - - -	269 & seq.
He is at a ball at the Chevalier de la Lu- zerne's - - -	276
The American custom is for the parties to dance together the whole evening -	277
Conversation of the Author with one of the Chiefs of the Quaker sect -	278 & seq.
He assists the next day at a Quaker's meet- ing, and at the English church -	286
The Author returns to German Town -	290
The same day he goes to White Marsh, and reconnoitres the camp occupied by the English in 1777 - -	291
An assembly of different persons of both sexes at an American lady's -	293
The Author goes with the Marquis de la Fayette to view the position of Barren Hill, where the Marquis was near being surrounded in 1778, and which he escaped by making a judicious retreat - -	296 & seq.
On his return he visited the lines made by the English to cover Philadelphia -	303
Conversation with Mr. Peters, secretary at war - - -	305
He pays a visit to Mr. Payne, the Author of <i>Common Sense</i> - - -	310
Character of that celebrated writer -	311
Subscription ball - - -	314
A ridiculous story of the master of the ceremonies - - -	316
The sitting of the academy of Philadelphia -	317
The Author quits Philadelphia, separates with reluctance from the Chevalier de la Luzerne, eulogium of that minister -	322
Observations on Philadelphia -	324 & seq.
The Author, who slept at Prince Town, is obliged to remain there the best part of the morning, waiting for the horses of his attendants - - -	334

C O N T E N T S.

xiii

	Page
His landlord is a Colonel in the militia -	337
Courageous action of his son -	338
How he entered into the service -	339
The road from Prince Town to Basken- ridge -	340
The custom of the Americans when they want bread is to supply it by cakes, which they make immediately	ibid.
Road from Baskenridge to Pompton	341
Farms and fine tillage of the Dutch esta- blished in that country -	342
Mr. Courtheath's tavern -	ibid.
The Author finds there several classical books, and two well educated young ladies -	343
Observations upon the Clove -	345
A very savage country which the Author was obliged to cross over -	346
The forges of Mrs. Erskine -	347
He meets in the middle of the woods, with two young children returning from school -	348
Reflections on the resources of every kind which are to be found in America -	ibid.
The Author arrives at New Windsor -	349
The new sentiment he feels on again seeing General Washington -	350
After having passed two days at New Windsor, he continues his route to Albany -	353
He crosses the river in General Wash- ington's barge, who accompanies him to the opposite shore -	354
Mr. Pride's tavern -	355
Remarks on the agriculture of Dutchess County, in which this tavern is situated -	356
Whimsical mistake of a Dutchman, whom the Author met at a place called <i>Stratf- borough</i> -	358
Bad weather obliges the Author to stop at Thomas's tavern -	360
Conversation with the landlord -	ibid.

An

xiv C O N T E N T S.

	Page
An account of the trade of Canada -	361
Anecdote of Arnold -	362 & seq.
The road from Thomas's inn to Kinder Hook -	366
The curiosities which a large rock situated near to Claverack presents -	367 & seq.
The Author arrives at Albany -	371
He finds it difficult to pass the North River whose shores are already covered with floating ice -	373
Invited to dinner by General Schuyler, who sends his sledges for him -	374
Particulars of the General and his family -	375
He forms the project of going the next day to Saratoga, to escape the snows which cover this country during the months of January, February and March, and which began already to fall -	377
He sets out in very bad weather -	379
Description of the country which he traverses -	ibid.
Description of the great cataract, called <i>Cohoes-Fall</i> -	380
No possibility of passing the Mohawk River -	382
He is obliged to return to Albany -	383
Interesting conversation with General Schuyler -	384
He communicates to the Author different plans for carrying on the war in Canada -	385 & seq.
Journey to Schenectady -	398
Observations on the Indians -	401
Description of one of their huts -	402 & seq.
The Author sets out from Albany with General Schuyler to go to Saratoga -	406
In passing the River Mohawk, the horses belonging to one of the sledges sink under the ice -	407
In what manner they were extricated -	408
Description of the intrenched camp on Breams's	

C O N T E N T S.

xv

	Page
Breams's Heights, occupied by General Gates, in the year 1777 -	410
Relation of the different battles which happened the same year, betwixt the armies of the Generals Gates and Burgoyne -	412
Arrival at Saratoga - - -	415
Journey to fort Edward - - -	416
And to the great cataract on the North River, and the house of Miss Mac Rea -	417
The tragical end of that American lady -	418 & seq.
He reconnoitres the position occupied by General Burgoyne, when he laid down his arms - - -	425 & seq.
Anecdotes on that event - - -	433 & seq.
Return to Albany - - -	436
The manner in which the inhabitants of the town celebrate New Year's Day -	439 & seq.
Obstacles occasioned by the thaw on departing from Albany - - -	442
The horses of one of the sledges sink again in the river - - -	443
Taverns at Noble Town and Sheffield -	444
The Author finds at the latter, upon the table, the Abridgment of Newton's Philosophy -	445
The Author crosses the green woods, and describes the country, which appears a frightful desert - - -	447
Finds however somebody to repair his sledge almost as soon as it was broken -	ibid.
He arrives at New Hartford - - -	449
Difficulty of being lodged - - -	ibid.
Singular conversation with his hostess, about a woman who waited upon him -	450 & seq.
An extraordinary rock which he sees on the road to Hartford - - -	453
The Author stays at Lebanon - - -	455
Squirrel hunting - - -	456 & seq.
He returns to Newport after having stopt at Voluntown and Providence -	461

T R A V E L S
I N
N O R T H - A M E R I C A.

*Journey from Newport to Philadelphia,
Albany, &c.*

FROM my landing at Newport, on the 11th of July, it was hardly possible for me to be absent even for two days. On the 19th of that month the English fleet began to shew itself before the port; the next day we reckoned two and twenty sail, and a few days after, we learnt that the enemy were embarking troops, nor were we informed before the middle of

VOL. I.

B

August

August of their being again disembarked at New York, and on Long Island. But still it appeared by no means clear that they had abandoned their undertaking: we received every day fresh advices, which bespoke new embarkations; on our part we were adding to our fortifications, and our still recent establishment furnished me with daily employment of such a nature as not to admit of my absence. M. de Rochambeau, who had long proposed visiting his posts at Providence, was unable to carry his project into execution before the 30th of August. I accompanied him, and we returned the next day *. On the 18th of September he set out for Hartford in Connecticut, with the Admiral Chevalier de Ternay, where General Washington had given him a rendezvous. I did not attend him in this journey, and as fortune would have

* Let the English reader conjecture from what this General Officer has said, and from what he has probably thought proper *not* to say, whether Sir H. Clinton, and Admiral Arbuthnot, and even the great Rodney were *very enterprising Officers*. See the Gazette dispatches of the day.

TRANSLATOR.

have it, we found ourselves in the most critical situation in which we had been since our arrival. The general belief at Rhode Island was, that M. de Guichen, who we knew had quitted St. Domingo, was coming to join us, and we expected to go into immediate action. On the 19th, we found that instead of M. de Guichen, Admiral Rodney was arrived at New York with ten ships of the line. Not the smallest doubt was entertained amongst us of an attack upon the French fleet, and even the army. The vessels in consequence were laid across the harbour, with strings on their cables, and their anchorage was protected by new batteries, which were constructed with great judgment and celerity. In the beginning of October, the season being then advanced, without any thing being undertaken by Admiral Rodney, we had reason to expect that we should remain quiet for the remainder of the year, and our sole occupation was in preparing winter quarters for the troops. They took possession of them the 1st of November: and I might now without risk have ab-

sented myself from the army; but not wishing to shew too much anxiety, and desirous of seeing discipline, and the arrangements relative to the cantonments well established, I deferred until the 11th setting out on a long tour upon the continent.

I left Rhode Island that day with Mr. Lynch and M. de Montesquieu,* who had each of them a servant. I had three, one of whom had a led horse, and another drove a small cart, which I was advised to take, to convey my portmanteaus, and to avoid hurting my horses in the journey. It was then a hard frost, the earth was covered with snow, and the north easterly wind blew very sharp. In going from Bristol to the Ferry, I went out of my way to view the fortifications of *Butsbill*, and I reached the ferry at half past eleven †.

The

* Both of these Gentlemen were made Colonels en second, on their return to Europe; the first of the regiment of Walsh, and the second, of the regiment of Bourbonnois.

† The ferries are over arms of the sea, as well as rivers, and the boats have either sails or oars.

The passage was long and difficult, because the wind was contrary. We were obliged to make three tacks, and it was necessary to make two trips, to pass over our horses, and the cart. At two o'clock I arrived at Warren, a small town in the state of Massachusetts, eighteen miles distant from Newport. I alighted at a good inn, the master of which, called *Buhr*, is remarkable for his enormous size, as well as that of his wife, his son, and all his family. My intention was only to have baited my horses, but the cold continuing to increase, and the cart not arriving before three o'clock, I gave up all thoughts of going to sleep at Providence, and I determined to stay at Warren, where I was in very good quarters. After dinner I went to the bank of the little river Barrington, which runs near this town, to see a sloop come in which had arrived from Port au Prince. This sloop belonged to Mr. Porter, Brigadier-General of the Militia, nephew to Mr. Buhr, and still more bulky than himself. Colonel Green, whom I met upon the quay, made me acquainted with Mr. Porter, and

we drank tea with him, in a simple, but comfortable house, the inside, and inhabitants of which presented a specimen of American manners.

The 12th I set out at half past eight for Providence, where I arrived at noon. I alighted at the College, that is to say, at our Hospital, which I examined, and dined with Mr. Blanchard, Commissary of war. At half past four I went to Colonel Bowen's, where I had lodged in my first journey; I drank tea there with several ladies, one of whom, rather handsome, was called Miss Angel. I was then conducted to Mrs. Varnum's, where I again found company, and from thence to Governor Bowen's, who gave me a bed.

The 13th I breakfasted with Colonel Peck: He is an amiable and polite young man, who passed the last summer with General Heath at Newport. He received me in a charming small house, where he lived with his wife, who is young also, and has a pleasing countenance, but without any thing striking. This little establishment, where comfort and simplicity reign,

gave an idea of that sweet and serene state of happiness, which appears to have taken refuge in the New World, after compounding it with pleasure, to which it has left the Old.

The town of Providence is built on the bank of a river only six miles long, and which disembogues itself in the Gulph wherein are Rhode Island, Connecticut, Providence, &c. It has only one street, which is very long: the suburb, which is considerable, is on the other side of the river. This town is handsome, the houses are not spacious, but well-built, and properly arranged within. It is pent in between two chains of mountains, one to the north, and the other to the south-west, which causes an insupportable heat in summer; but it is exposed to the north-west wind, which rakes it from one end to the other, and renders it extremely cold in winter. It may contain two thousand five hundred inhabitants. Its situation is very advantageous for commerce; which accordingly is very considerable in times of peace. Merchant ships may load and unload their car-

goes in the town itself, and ships of war cannot approach the harbour. Their commerce is the same with that of Rhode Island and Boston; they export slaves, and salt provisions, and bring back salt, and a great quantity of melasses, sugar, and other articles from the West Indies: they fit out vessels also for the cod and whale fishery. The latter is carried on successfully between Cape Cod and Long Island; but they go often as far as Baffin's Straights, and Falkland's Island. The inhabitants of Providence, like those of Newport, also carry on the Guinea trade; they buy slaves there and carry them to the West-Indies, where they take bills of exchange on Old England, for which they receive woollens, stuffs, and other merchandize*.

On

* Here are several places of public worship, an university, and other public buildings; and a very brisk trade was carried on even at the worst period of the war for American commerce, viz. in 1782.—Mr. *Welcome Arnold*, a great plumber, and Delegate to Congress from this state, has changed his name by act of Assembly, since the defection of *Benedict Arnold*.
TRANSLATOR.

On quitting Colonel Peck, I mounted my horse for *Voluntown*, where I proposed sleeping. I stopped at *Seituate*, in a very indifferent inn, called the *Angel's Tavern*; it is about half way to *Voluntown*: I baited my horses there, and set out in an hour, without seeing my cart arrive. From this place to *Voluntown* the road is execrable; one is perpetually mounting and descending, and always on the most rugged roads. It was six o'clock, and the night closed in, when I reached *Dorrance's Tavern*, which is only five and twenty miles from Providence. I dismounted with the more pleasure as the weather was extremely bad. I was well accommodated, and kindly received at Mr. *Dorrance's*. He is an old gentleman of seventy-three years of age, tall, and still vigorous; he is a native of Ireland, first settled in Massachusetts, and afterwards in Connecticut. His wife, who is younger than him, is active, handy, and obliging; but her family is charming. It consists of two young men, one twenty-eight, and the other twenty-one years old; a child of twelve, and two girls from eighteen

teen to twenty, as handsome as angels. The eldest of these young women was sick, kept her chamber, and did not shew herself. I learnt afterwards that she was big with child, and almost ready to lye-in: she was deceived by a young man, who after promising to marry her, absented himself and did not return.* Chagrin and the

* On the arrival of seven or eight copies of this Journal, sent to Europe by the author, the curiosity then excited by every thing relative to the affairs of America, procured them many readers. Though the author had addressed them only to his most intimate friends, and had taken the precaution to apprise them that it was not his intention they should be generally public, they passed rapidly from one hand to another; and as they could only be lent for a short time, they were read with as much precipitation, as avidity. This anxiety could only proceed from the general desire of forming some idea of the manners of the Americans, of which this Journal gave several details which became interesting from the circumstances of novelty and distance. From an inconsistency, however, more usual in France than in any other country, some persons made no scruple to judge the author on points of propriety, of which he alone was capable of giving them an idea: he was taxed with wantonness and indiscretion, for having concealed neither names nor places in re-

the consequences of her situation had thrown her into a state of languor; she never came down to the ground-floor on which

lating the adventure of a girl deceived by her lover. A very simple, and very natural reflection might have convinced them, that it was by no means probable that a General Officer, a man of forty-five years of age, particularly connected with the Americans, and who has every where expressed sentiments of gratitude and attachment for those from whom he experienced kindness, should allow himself, not only to offend, but to afflict an honest family, who had shewn him every attention, and of whom he cannot speak but in terms of commendation. Besides that the simple and even serious manner in which this article is written, affords not the least appearance of levity; a sufficient reason for preventing the too free observations of certain readers. Another reflection might occur naturally enough, but which demanded a little more combination. The author wishes, it might have been said, to give us an idea of American manners, which he is certainly very far from satirizing: may it not be possible that amongst a people so remote from us in every respect, a girl who should resign herself too hastily to the man she was engaged to, with the consent even of her parents, a girl without distrust, in a country where such an idea is never taught them, where morals are so far in their infancy, as that the commerce between two free

which her parents lived; but great care was taken of her, and she had always somebody to keep her company. Whilst a
good

persons is deemed less censurable, than the infidelities, the caprices, and even the coquetries which destroy the peace of so many European families? May it not be possible that this young woman, as interesting as she was unhappy, should be lamented rather than condemned, that she should still retain all her rights in society, and become a legitimate spouse and mother, though her story was neither unknown, nor attempted to be concealed? In fact, how could the author learn this history? Was it by the scandalous chronicles in a hamlet where he was a stranger to every person but his hosts? *I have since learnt* (says he in speaking of this girl) *that she was with child, and near her time of lying-in.* How did he learn this? From her own parents, who had not at first made a mystery of it, and then a matter of confidence. But had these austere judges, when they had finished their reading, happened to recollect what they saw at the beginning, they might have observed that the author being at Voluntown a second time, two months after, saw Miss Dorrance suckling an infant, which was continually passing from her knees to those of her mother; that she was then cherished, and taken care of by all the family. This affecting sight was described with sensibility, and not with malignity. But it is time to give over tiring the patience, not of the

good supper was preparing for me, I went into the room where the family was assembled, where I observed a shelf with

forty critics only, but of all sensible minds, those minds alone whose approbation is of any value. On another journey to Voluntown, the author had the satisfaction to see Miss Dorrance perfectly happy: her lover was returned, and had married her; he had expiated all his wrongs, nor had they been such as they at first appeared; he had unfortunate circumstances to plead in his excuse, if there can indeed be any for a man who for a single day can leave in such agonies, the interesting and weak victim who was unable to resist him.

The Translator, who has been at Voluntown, and enjoyed the society and witnessed the happiness of this amiable family, is likewise acquainted with the whole of this story. He is so well satisfied with the justness of the liberal minded author's reasoning on American manners in this particular, that he has not scrupled to give the name of this worthy family at length, not apprehending that their characters would suffer the smallest injury, where alone the imputation is of any consequence; nor does he fear opposing the virtue of this family, and of these manners, to European chastity, prudery, and refinement. The circumstances of this

forty or fifty volumes on it; on opening them I found that they were all classical authors, Greek, Latin, or English. They belonged to Mr. Dorrance's eldest son. This young man had received a regular education, and was tutor at Providence college, until the war interrupted his studies. I conversed with him on various points of literature, and particularly on the manner in which the dead languages should be pro-

story were related to the Translator by Mr. and Mrs. Dorrance, with the same sensibility, and the same innocence, with which they appear to have told them to the Marquis de Chastelleux. They are a kind, hospitable, and amiable couple, and the husband is very far from being ill informed; he entertained the Translator with many anecdotes of the war, and with some laughable ones respecting General Prescott, who was brought to his house, after being carried off without his breeches from Rhode Island; but never without expressing a becoming degree of sensibility for his situation, which was peculiarly mortifying, from his gout, his naturally peevish disposition, the humiliating mode of his capture, and the circumstance of its being the second time of his falling into the hands of an enemy, whom he was weak enough to despise and to insult. TRANSLATOR.

pronounced. I found him well informed, and possessed of much simplicity and modesty.*

We were waited on at supper by a most beautiful girl, called Miss *Pearce*. She was a neighbour of Mrs. Dorrance, and had come on a visit, and to assist her in the absence of her youngest daughter. This young person had, like all the American women, a very decent, nay even serious carriage; she had no objection to be looked at, nor to have her beauty commended, nor even to receive a few caresses, provided it was done without an air of familiarity or libertinism. Licentious manners, in fact, are so foreign in America, that the communication with young women leads to nothing bad, and that freedom itself there bears

* The Translator had a great deal of conversation with this young man, and found him such as the Marquis represents him; but he must likewise add, that he met with a great number of excellent classical scholars, in different parts of the continent, educated at Williamsburgh, Philadelphia, Yale College, New-haven, Cambridge, and Providence, and very few deficient, especially to the northward. The war did infinite mischief to the rising generation of America, by interrupting education. TRANSLATOR.

bears a character of modesty far beyond our affected bashfulness and false reserve. But neither my excellent supper, nor the books of Mr. Dorrance, nor even the fine eyes of Miss Pearce, made my cart arrive, and I was obliged to go to rest without hearing any news of it. As I desired a chamber with a fire in it, Miss Pearce prepared me one, informing me at the same time, that it communicated with that of the sick lady with whom she slept, and inquired of me very politely, whether it would incommode me if she should pass through my chamber after I was in bed. I assured her, that if she disturbed my sleep, it would not be as a frightful dream. And, in fact, she came a quarter of an hour after I was in bed. I pretended to sleep, in order to examine her countenance; she passed very gently, turning her head the other way, and hiding the light for fear of awakening me. I do not know whether I shall pronounce my praise or condemnation, by saying, that I soon after fell into a profound sleep.

On my rising, I found Miss Pearce, but not my cart, which it seemed more than probable

probable was broke into a thousand pieces. I was determined to give up that mode of conveying my little baggage, which still it was necessary to have. I resolved, therefore, to wait for them, and take my breakfast, a resolution much easier adopted. At length, about eleven o'clock, my centinels announced its appearance. It was matter of great joy to the whole crew to see it arrive, although crippled, and towed by a hired horse, which they had been obliged to put before mine. It is proper to observe, that my attendants, proud of possessing ample means of transporting my effects, had loaded it with many useless articles; that being apprized myself that wine was not always to be met with in the inns,* I had thought proper to furnish myself

* The translator, when he travelled in America during the war, always carried wine with him when practicable, for at Baltimore and Philadelphia, those great sea-ports, very indifferent wine, *called* claret, was sold at *two dollars*, upwards of 9 shillings a bottle, hard money. Nor was it an uncommon thing to transport wine from Boston to Philadelphia by land, when the arrivals were more fortunate in that quarter.

TRANSLATOR.

VOL. I.

C

myself with cantines which held twelve bottles, and having taken the precaution to ask for two or three white loaves of bread from the commissary of provisions at Providence, he had packed up twenty, which alone weighed upwards of eighty pounds, so that my poor cart was laden till on the point of sinking. Its greatest misfortune, however, arose from striking on the rocks, which had broke one wheel and greatly damaged the other. I soon determined to leave it with Mr. Dorrance, who undertook to get it repaired, and it was resolved that my wine should be divided into three parts, one of which should be drank the same day, the other left with the landlord, with a request to keep it till my return, and that the third should be offered him, with a request to drink it; which met with no difficulty. The remainder of the day, however, being dedicated to make new dispositions, I determined on remaining at Voluntown. I made a general inspection of my baggage; every thing unnecessary was packed up and left with Mr. Dorrance; the rest put into portmanteaus, and by a pro-

a promotion *à la Prussienne*, on the field of battle, my cart-horse was elevated to the saddle. The reading of some English poets, and the conversation with Messrs. Lynch and Montesquieu, and the good people of the house, made me pass the day very agreeably. Towards the evening, two travellers came into the room I was in, seated themselves by the fire, and began to yawn and whistle, without paying the least attention to me. The conversation, however, gradually enlivened, and became very interesting and agreeable. One of them was a colonel of militia, who had served in Canada, and had been in several engagements, wherein he was wounded. I shall observe once for all, that among the men I have met with, above twenty years of age, of whatsoever condition, I have not found two who have not borne arms, heard the whistling of balls, and even received some wounds; so that it may be asserted that North-America is entirely military, and inured to war, and that new levies may continually be made without making new soldiers. [The Translator confirms this assertion,

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tion, except with regard to the pacific religious sects, in the whole extent of his observations from Virginia to New Hampshire.]

The 15th, I set out from Voluntown at eight in the morning. I travelled five miles in the mountains, after which I saw the horizon expand itself, and my eye very soon had its full scope. On descending the hills, and before we reach the valley, is the town or hamlet of *Plainfield*; for what is called in America, a *town* or *township*, is only a certain number of houses, dispersed over a great space, but which belong to the same incorporation, and send deputies to the general assembly of the state. The centre or head quarters of these towns, is the meeting-house or church. This church stands sometimes single, and is sometimes surrounded by four or five houses only; whence it happens, that when a traveller asks the question, *How far is it to such a town?* He is answered, *You are there already*; but when he specifies the place he wishes to be at, whether it be the meeting, or such a tavern, he not unfrequently is told, *You are seven or eight miles from it.*

Plainfield

Plainfield is a small town, but a large district, for there are full thirty houses within reach of the meeting.* Its situation is agreeable; but it presents, besides, a military aspect: this was the first I had remarked. An army might encamp there on little heights, behind which the hills rise in an amphitheatre, thus presenting successive positions as far as the great woods, which would serve as the last retreat. The foot of the heights of Plainfield is fortified by morasses, only passable by one causeway, which would oblige the enemy to file off to attack you. † The right and left are supported by escarpments. On the right also is a marsh, which renders it more difficult of access. This camp is fit for six, eight, or even ten thousand men; it might serve to cover Providence and Massachusetts

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* There is an academy or college here, with four Latin and English masters, and when the translator was there, he was present at some, not contemptible, public exhibitions of oratory in those two languages. TRANSLATOR.

† In summer these morasses are dry. This I have since learnt, and which it is proper to remark, that an erroneous idea may not be formed of this position.

sachusset's state, against troops who had passed the Connecticut river. At two miles from Plainfield the road turns towards the north, and after travelling two or three miles farther, is the river of Quenebaugh, along the edge of which we travel about a mile to pass it at *Canterbury*, over a pretty long, and tolerably constructed wooden bridge. This river is neither navigable nor fordable, but flows amidst stones, which renders its bed very uneven. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood, form dams here in the shape of a projecting angle to catch the eels: the summit of the angle is in the middle of the river; there they place nets in the shape of a purse, where the fish which follow the current of water seldom escape being caught. The bridge at *Canterbury* is built in rather a deep and narrow valley. The meeting-house of the town is on the right bank, as well as the greatest part of the houses, but there are some also on the eminences towards the east, which appeared to me well built and agreeably situated. These heights being of the same elevation with those to the west,

west,* Canterbury offers two positions, equally advantageous for two armies, which might dispute the passage of the Quenebaugh. After passing Canterbury, we enter the woods, and a chain of hills, which must be passed by very rugged and difficult roads. Six or seven miles farther, the country begins to open, and we descend agreeably to *Windham*. It is a very handsome little town, or rather it is the stock from which a handsome town will spring. There are forty or fifty houses pretty near each other, and so situated as to present the appearance of a large public square, and three large streets. The *Seunganick*, or Windham river, runs near this town, but is of no great use to its trade, for it is no

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* The translator reached Canterbury on a *Sunday*, a day on which travelling is forbid in the New England states. The family at *Buckhouse's Tavern* were all at meeting, and it cost him innumerable entreaties, besides the most unequivocal proofs of *whiggism*, to procure a morsel of the most wretched fare, and to obtain which he was obliged to wait till the meeting was at an end. Both this town and Windham are most beautifully situated, particularly the latter, which is extremely picturesque.

more navigable than the Quenebaugh, with which it joins its waters to form the river *Thames*. It may be observed in reading this journal, and still more by the inspection of the Charts, that the rivers in general, and many towns, have retained their Indian names: this nomenclature has something interesting in it, as it confirms the still recent origin of these multiplied settlements, and is perpetually presenting to the mind a very striking contrast between the former, and present state of this vast country.

Windham is fifteen miles from Voluntown. I there found Lauzun's hussars, who were stationed in it for a week, until their quarters were prepared at *Lebanon*. I dined with the Duke de Lauzun, and being unable to get away before half after three, the night, which soon came on, obliged me to stop at six miles from Windham, at a little solitary tavern, * kept by Mrs. Hill.

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* This tavern is called *Lebanon Crank*, and the translator has made similar remarks in his journal on the external appearance of, and the kindness that reigns within this little hut; where, a very uncommon

As the house had an indifferent appearance, I asked if we could have beds, the only want we had; for the Duke de Lauzun's dinner had left us in no uneasiness about supper. Mrs. Hill told me, after the manner of the country, that she could only *spare* one bed, as she had a sick traveller in the house whom she would not disturb. This traveller was a poor soldier of the continental army, who was going home on a furlough for the benefit of his health. He had his furlough in his pocket in regular form, as well as the exact account of what was due to him, but he had not a farthing either in paper or in *hard money*. Mrs. Hill, notwithstanding, had given him a good bed, and as he was too ill to continue his journey, she had kept him, and taken care of him for four days. We arranged matters in the best way we could: the soldier kept his bed. I gave him some money to help him on his journey, and Mrs. Hill appeared to me

circumstance at that time, he found excellent green tea, and fine loaf sugar. He saw Mrs. Hill too feed, and relieve a travelling soldier.

TRANSLATOR.

me much more affected with this charity, than with the good *hard money* I gave her to pay her bill.

The 16th, at eight in the morning, I took leave of my kind landlady, and followed the road to Hartford, beginning my journey on foot, on account of the extreme coldness of the morning. After descending by a gentle declivity for about two miles, I got into a pretty narrow, but agreeable and well cultivated valley: it is watered by a rivulet which falls into the *Seunganick*, and which is decorated with the name of *Hope river*; we follow this valley to *Bolton town*, or *Township*, which has nothing remarkable. There we traverse a chain of pretty lofty mountains, which extend from north to south like all the hills in Connecticut. On quitting these mountains, we come to the first houses of *East Hartford*. Though we were but five miles from *Hartford Court House*, we wished to rest our horses, which had travelled twenty-three miles on a stretch. The inn we stopped at was kept by Mr. Marsh: he is, according to the English phrase, a good farmer; that is, a good

good cultivator. He told me that he had begun a settlement in the state of *Vermont*, where he had purchased two hundred acres of land for forty dollars, about two hundred livres of our money, or something more than eight pounds English. The state of Vermont is a vast country, situated to the eastward of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, and to the north of Connecticut, between the river of that name, and Hudson's river. As it is lately peopled, and has always been an object of contention between the states of New York, and New-Hampshire, there is, properly speaking, no established government. *Ethan Allen*, celebrated for the expedition he undertook in 1775 against Ticonderago, of his own accord, and without any other aid than that of the volunteers who followed him, has made himself the chief of that country. He has formed there an assembly of representatives; this assembly grants lands, and the country is governed by its own laws, without having any connection with congress. The inhabitants however are not the less enemies of the English; but under
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the pretext that they form the frontier against Canada, and are obliged to guard it, they furnish no contingent to the expences of the war. They had long no other name than that of *Green Mountainboys*, but thinking this too ignoble an appellation for their new destiny, they translated Green Mountain into French; which made *Verd Mont*, and by corruption Vermont. It remains to be seen whether it is by corruption also that this country has assumed the title of *the state of Vermont*.*

About four in the evening, I arrived at Hartford ferry, after travelling over a very inconvenient road, a great part of which forms a narrow causeway through a marshy wood. We pass this ferry, like all the others

* In the years 1780, 1781, and 1782, the inhabitants of Vermont, who were *not* guided by Ethan Allen, annually sent deputies to congress, and were once within *one vote* of carrying their point; but had not the peace taken place, it is probable from circumstances, that in case of refusal, they would *at least* have threatened to put themselves under British protection, an event to which the Marquis seems to allude. TRANSLATOR.

others in America *, in a flat boat with oars. I found the inns at Hartford so full that it was impossible to procure a lodging. The four eastern states of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut were then holding their assemblies in that town. These four states have long maintained a particular connection with each other, and they meet together by deputies, sometimes in one state, sometimes in another. Each legislature sends deputies. In a circumstance, so uncommon in America, as room being wanted for men collected together, Colonel Wadsworth's house offered me a most agreeable asylum; I lodged with him, as well as the Duke de Lauzun, who had passed me on the road. Mr. Dumas †, who belonged to the staff of the

* At the Moravian settlement of Pethlehem is a ferry passed by ropes, like that opposite the invalid hospital at Paris, and many others in France, and other parts of Europe. TRANSLATOR.

† The translator had the pleasure of meeting with this accomplished officer, at Baltimore, at Boston, and in Europe. Nature has been very favourable to his exterior, and he unites to the most perfect good manners, and a thorough knowledge of the world, and books, the most unexampled activity in his profession. TRANSLATOR.

the army, and was then attached to the Duke de Lauzun, Mr. Lynch and Mr. de Montesquieu were well accommodated in the neighbourhood.

Colonel Wadsworth is about two and thirty, very tall and well made, and has a noble as well as agreeable countenance. He lived formerly on Long Island; and from his infancy was engaged in commerce and navigation: he had already made several voyages to the Coast of Guinea and the West Indies, when according to the American expression, the present *contestation* began. He then served in the army, and was in several actions; but General Washington discovering that his talents might be still more usefully employed, made him Commissary of provisions. This is a military post in America, and those who fill it, are as much respected as the first officer of the line. The Commissary General is charged with all the purchases, and the Quarter Master with all the conveyances: it is the latter who marks out the ground, establishes the magazines, provides carriages, and distributes the rations: it is also

also on his receipts and orders that the Paymasters make their payments; he is, in short, properly speaking, a Military Intendant, while the Commissary General may be compared to a *Munitionnaire* with us, who should undertake to provide forage as well as provisions. I think this arrangement as good as ours, though these departments have not been exempt from abuses, and even blame in the course of the present war; but it must be observed, that whenever the government wants political force, and the treasury is without money, the administration of affairs is always ruinous, and often culpable. This reflection alone will afford sufficient subject for the eulogium of Col. Wadsworth, when it is known that throughout all America, there is not one voice against him, and that his name is never pronounced without the homage due to his talents and his probity. The particular confidence of General Washington puts the seal upon his merit*. The

Marquis

* The translator cannot forbear adding his testimony to this brilliant but exaggerated eulogium.
TRANSLATOR.

Marquis de la Fayette judged extremely well therefore in getting Mr. de Corny to employ him, in furnishing the provisions necessary for the French troops which were then expected. As soon as they were disembarked at Rhode Island, he again proposed him as the most proper man in the world to assist them in all their wants, but those who had the direction of the army did not at that time think proper to employ him. They even conceived some suspicions of him, from false ideas, and eagerly substituted for a Commissary of understanding and reputation, undertakers, without fortune, and without character; who promised every thing, performed nothing, and soon threw our affairs into confusion; first by augmenting the price of articles by purchases hastily made, and frequently in opposition one to another, and finally by throwing into circulation, and offering at a great discount, the bills of exchange they had engaged to receive for two-thirds of all their payments. These bargains and contracts succeeded eventually so ill, that we were obliged, but too late, to have recourse to Mr. Wadsworth, who

who resumed the affairs with as much nobleness as he had quitted them ; always as superior to injuries by his character, as he is by his talents to the innumerable obstacles that surround him.

Another interesting personage was then at Hartford, and I went to pay him a visit : this was Governor Trumbull ; Governor, *by excellence*, for he has been so these fifteen years, having been always rechosen at the end of every two years, and equally possessing the public esteem under the English government, and under that of the Congress. He is seventy years old ; his whole life is consecrated to business, which he passionately loves, whether important or not ; or rather, with respect to him, there is none of the latter description. He has all the simplicity in his dress, all the importance, and even pedantry becoming the great magistrate of a small republic. He brought to my mind the burgomasters of Holland in the time of the Heinsiuses and the Barnevelts. I had been informed that he was employed in a history of the present revolution, and I was curious to read this work ;

I told him that I hoped to see him on my return at Lebanon (his place of abode), and that I should then request permission to look over his manuscript; but he assured me that he had only written the introduction, which he had addressed to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, our ambassador. I procured it during my stay at Philadelphia, but it is only an historical recapitulation, rather superficial, and by no means free from partiality in the manner of representing the events of the war. The only interesting fact I found in it, was in the journal of a *Governor Winthrop*, in the year 1670, where he says, that the members of the council of Massachusetts, being advised by their friends in London to address themselves to the parliament, to whom the King then left a great deal of authority, as the best means of obtaining the redress of some grievances, the council, after mature deliberation, thought proper to decline the proposal, reflecting, that if they put themselves once under the protection of parliament, they should be obliged to submit to all the laws that assembly might impose, whether on the nation
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in general, or on the colonies in particular. Now, nothing can more strongly prove, that these colonies, even in the very origin, never acknowledged the authority of parliament, nor imagined they could be bound by laws of their making.

The 17th, in the morning, I parted with regret from my host and the Duke de Lauzun; but it was not till after breakfast, for it is a thing unheard of in America to set off without breakfast. By this indispensable delay I had an opportunity of making acquaintance with *General Parsons*. He appeared to me a sensible man, and he is so esteemed in his country; but he has had little opportunity of displaying great military talents; he was, in fact, what one must never be, in war, or in any thing, unfortunate. His outset was on Long Island, where he was taken, and he has since been in all the bad affairs, so that he is better known for his capacity in business, than for the share he has had in the events of the war.

The road I had to travel becoming hence-

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forth difficult and rather desert, it was determined that I should not exceed ten miles that day, that I might meet with good quarters; and get my horses in order for the next day's journey. The place I was to stop at was *Farmington*. Mr. Wadsworth, fearing I should not find a good inn there, gave me a letter of recommendation to one of his relations of the name of *Lewis*, where he assured me I should be well received, without incommoding any person, and without straightening myself, for that I should pay my reckoning as at an inn. In fact, when the taverns are bad, or that they are so situated as not to suit the convenience of the traveller, it is the custom in America, to ask for quarters of some individual at his ease, who can spare room in his house for you, and can give stabling for your horses: the traveller and his host then converse together on equal terms; but he is paid merely as an inn-keeper.

The town of Hartford does not merit any attention either in travelling through, or in speaking of it. It consists of a very
long

long street, parallel with the river; it is pretty regular and connected, that is, the houses are not distant from each other. But it has many appendages; every thing is Hartford six leagues round; but East Hartford, West Hartford, and New Hartford are distinct towns, though composed of houses scattered through the country. I have already mentioned what constitutes a town; it is to have one or two meetings, particular assemblies, and the right of sending deputies to the general assembly. These *townships* may be compared to the *curiae* of the Romans. From a very lofty plain on the road to Farmington, one discovers not only all the Hartfords, but all that part of the continent watered by the river of that name, situated between the eastern and western chains of mountains. This place is called *Rocky-hill*. The houses of West Hartford, frequently dispersed, and sometimes grouped together, and every where adorned with trees and meadows, form of the road to Farmington such a garden, in the English style, as it would be difficult for art to imitate. Their inhabitants add

some industry likewise to their rich culture ; some common cloths and other woollen stuffs are fabricated here, but of a good wear, and sufficient to clothe the people who live in the country, or in any other town than Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. I went into a house where they were preparing and dying the cloth. This cloth is made by the people of the country, and is then sent to these little manufactories, where they are dressed, pressed, and dyed for two shillings, *lawful money*, per yard, which makes about thirty-five sols French, or seventeen-pence English, the Connecticut pound being equal to something more than three dollars. I reached Farmington at three in the afternoon. It is a pretty little town, with a handsome meeting-house, and fifty houses collected, all neat and well built. It is situated on the declivity of the mountains : the river which bears the same name runs at the foot of them, and turns towards the north, without shewing itself ; but the view of the valley is notwithstanding very agreeable. After dismounting, I took advantage of the good weather,

weather, to take a walk in the streets, or rather in the highways. I saw through the windows of a house that they were working at some trade; I entered, and found them making a sort of camblet, as well as another woollen stuff with blue and white stripes for women's dresses: these stuffs are sold at three shillings and six-pence the yard lawful money, or about two and twenty-pence English. The sons and grandsons of the family were at work: one workman can easily make five yards a day. The prime cost of the materials being only one shilling *currency*, the day's work may amount to ten or twelve. On my return from this walk I found an excellent dinner prepared for me, without my having said a word to the family. After dinner, about the close of the day, Mr. Lewis, who had been abroad on his affairs during a part of the day, came into the parlour where I was, seated himself by the fire, lighted his pipe, and entered into conversation with me. I found him an active and intelligent man, well acquainted with public affairs, and with his own: he carried on a trade of cattle,

like all the farmers of Connecticut ; he was then employed in furnishing provisions for the army, and was principally taken up in slaughtering, and salting cattle for the state of Connecticut to be sent to *Fish-kill*. For each state is obliged to furnish not only money, but other articles for the army: those to the eastward supply it with cattle, rum, and salt ; and those to the westward with flour and forage. Mr. Lewis has borne arms also for his country : he was at the affairs of Long Island and Saratoga, of which he gave me an exact account ; in the last he served as a volunteer. At tea time Mrs. Lewis and her sister-in-law gave us their company. Mrs. Lewis had just recovered from lying-in, and had her child in her arms : she is near thirty, with a very agreeable face, and so amiable, and so polite a carriage, as to present a picture of decency itself, in every country in the world. The conversation was interestingly supported the whole evening. The family retired at nine o'clock ; I did not see them in the morning, and paid my bill to the servants : it was neither dear nor cheap, but

but the just price of every thing, regulated without interest, and without compliments.

I got on horseback at eight o'clock on the 18th, and at the distance of a mile fell in with the river of Farmington, along which I rode for some time. There was nothing interesting in this part of my journey, except that having fired my pistol at a jay, to my great astonishment the bird fell. This had been for many days an object of curiosity with me, and it is really a most beautiful creature. It is quite blue, but it unites all the various shades of that colour so as to surpass the invention of art, and be very difficult of imitation. I must remark by the bye, that the Americans call it only by the name of the *blue-bird*, though it is a real jay; but the Americans are far from being successful in enriching their native language. On every thing which wanted an English name, they have bestowed only a simple descriptive one: the jay is the blue bird, the cardinal, the red bird; every water bird is a duck, from the teal to the *canard de dois*, and to the large

large black duck which we have not in Europe. They call them, *red ducks*, *black ducks*, *wood ducks*. It is the same with respect to their trees; the pine, the cypresses, the firs, are all comprehended under the general name of *pine-trees*; and if the people characterize any particular tree, it is from the use to which it is applied, as the *wall-nut*,* from its serving to the construction of wooden houses. I could cite many other examples, but it is sufficient to observe, that this poverty of language proves how much men's attention has been employed in objects of utility, and how much at the same time it has been circumscribed by the only prevailing interest, the desire of augmenting wealth, rather by dint of labour, than by industry. But to return to my jay; I resolved to make a trophy of it, in the manner of the savages, by scalping it of its skin and feathers; and,

content

* Here the Author is a little inaccurate respecting the English language, as the same word *wall-nut*, is applied to the same tree in English, and with no reference whatever to any such use.

content with my victory, I pursued my journey, which soon brought me amidst the steepest and most difficult mountains I had yet seen. They are covered with woods as old as the creation, but which do not differ from ours. These hills, heaped confusedly one upon another, oblige you to be continually mounting and descending, without your being able to distinguish, in this wild region, the summit, which rising above the rest, announces to you a conclusion to your labours. This disorder of Nature reminded me of the lessons of him whom she has chosen for her confident and interpreter. The vision of Mr. de Buffon appeared to me in these ancient deserts. He seemed to be in his proper element, and to point out to me, under a slight crust formed by the destruction of vegetables, the inequality of a globe of glass, which has cooled after a long fusion. The waters, said he, have done nothing here; look around you, you will not find a single calcareous stone; every thing is quartz, granite, or flint. I made experiments on the stones with aquafortis, and

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I could not help concluding, what has not obtained sufficient credit in Europe, not only that he speaks well, but that he is always in the right.

While I was meditating on the great process of Nature, which employs fifty thousand years in rendering the earth habitable, a new spectacle, well calculated as a contrast to those which I had been contemplating, fixed my attention, and excited my curiosity: this was the work of a single man, who in the space of a year had cut down several arpents of wood, and had built himself a house in the middle of a pretty extensive territory he had already cleared. I saw, for the first time, what I have since observed a hundred times; for, in fact, whatever mountains I have climbed, whatever forests I have traversed, whatever bye-paths I have followed, I have never travelled three miles without meeting with a new settlement, either beginning to take form, or already in cultivation. The following is the manner of proceeding in these improvements, or new settlements. Any man who is able to procure a capital of five
or

or six hundred livres of our money, or about twenty-five pounds sterling, and who has strength and inclination to work, may go into the woods and purchase a portion of one hundred and fifty or two hundred acres of land, which seldom costs him more than a dollar or four shillings and six-pence an acre, a small part of which only he pays in ready money. There he conducts a cow, some pigs, or a full sow, and two indifferent horses which do not cost him more than four guineas each. To these precautions he adds that of having a provision of flour and cyder. Provided with this first capital, he begins by felling all the smaller trees, and some strong branches of the large ones: these he makes use of as fences to the first field he wishes to clear; he next boldly attacks those immense oaks, or pines, which one would take for the ancient lords of the territory he is usurping; he strips them of their bark, or lays them open all round with his axe. These trees mortally wounded, are the next spring robbed of their honors; their leaves no longer spring, their branches fall,

fall, and their trunk becomes a hideous skeleton. This trunk still seems to brave the efforts of the new colonist; but where there are the smallest chinks or crevices, it is surrounded by fire, and the flames consume what the iron was unable to destroy. But it is enough for the small trees to be felled, and the great ones to lose their sap. This object completed, the ground is cleared; the air and the sun begin to operate upon that earth which is wholly formed of rotten vegetables, and teems with the latent principles of production. The grass grows rapidly; there is pasturage for the cattle the very first year; after which they are left to increase, or fresh ones are brought, and they are employed in tilling a piece of ground which yields the enormous increase of twenty or thirty fold. The next year the same course is repeated; when, at the end of two years, the planter has wherewithal to subsist, and even to send some articles to market: at the end of four or five years, he completes the payment of his land, and finds himself a comfortable planter. Then his dwelling, which

which at first was no better than a large hut formed by a square of the trunks of trees, placed one upon another, with the intervals filled by mud, changes into a handsome wooden house, where he contrives more convenient, and certainly much cleaner apartments than those in the greatest part of our small towns. This is the work of three weeks or a month. His first habitation, that of eight and forty hours. I shall be asked, perhaps, how one man, or one family can be so quickly lodged? I answer, that in America a man is never alone, never an isolated being. The neighbours, for they are every where to be found, make it a point of hospitality to aid the new farmer. A cask of cyder drank in common, and with gaiety, or a gallon of rum, are the only recompense for these services. Such are the means by which North-America, which one hundred years ago was nothing but a vast forest, is peopled with three millions of inhabitants; and such is the immense, and certain benefit of agriculture, that notwithstanding the war, it not only maintains itself where-
ever

ever it has been established, but it extends to places which seem the least favourable to its introduction. Four years ago one might have travelled ten miles in the woods I traversed, without seeing a single habitation.

Harrington is the first *township* I met with on my road. This place is sixteen miles from Farmington, and eight from Litchfield. Four miles before we come to this last town, we pass a wooden bridge over the river of *Waterbury*; this river is pretty large, but not navigable. Litchfield, or the *Meeting-house* of Litchfield, is situated on a large plain more elevated than the surrounding heights; about fifty houses pretty near each other, with a large square, or rather area, in the middle, announces the progress of this town, which is already the county town; for America is divided into districts, called Counties, in some Provinces, as in England. It is in the capital of these counties that the court of sessions is held, where the Sheriff presides, and where the Chief Judges come every four months to decide civil and criminal affairs. Half a
mile

mile on this side of Litchfield, I remarked, on the right, a barrack, surrounded by palisades, which appeared to me like a guard-house; I approached it, and saw in this small inclosure ten pieces of brass cannon, a mortar, and a swivel. This I learnt was a part of Burgoyne's artillery, which fell to the share of the state of Connecticut, and was kept in this place as the most conveniently situated for the army, and at the same time the least exposed to the incursions of the English.

It was four o'clock, and the weather very bad, when I came near the house of a Mr. Seymour, to whom Mr. Lewis had given me a letter, assuring me that I should find better accommodation than at the taverns; but Mr. Lynch, who had gone on a little before to make inquiries, informed me, that Mr. Seymour was from home, and that from all appearance his wife would be much embarrassed to receive us. The American women, in fact, are very little accustomed to give themselves trouble, either of mind or body; the care of their children, that of making tea, and

seeing the house kept clean, constitutes the whole of their domestic province. I determined therefore to go straight to the tavern, where I was still unlucky enough not to find Mr. Philips the landlord: so that I was received, at least, with indifference, which often happens in the inns in America, when they are not in much frequented situations: travellers are there considered as giving them more trouble than money. The reason of this is, that the inn-keepers are all of them cultivators, at their ease, who do not stand in need of this slight profit: the greatest number of those who follow this profession are even compelled to it by the laws of the country, which have wisely provided, that on all the great roads there shall be a public house at the end of every six miles, for the accommodation of travellers.

A still greater difficulty I had at Mrs. Philips's, was, to find room for nine horses I had with me. The Quarter-Master at length made them place some of them in the stable of a private person, and every thing was arranged to my satisfaction, and that

that of my hostess. I cannot help remarking, that nothing can be more useful than such an officer, as well for the service of the state, as for that of any traveller of distinction. I have already spoken of the functions of the Quarter-Master-General, but I did not mention that he names a Deputy Quarter-Master-General in each state, and that the latter, in his turn, names an assistant in each district to act in his room. My horses and baggage were scarcely under cover, when a dreadful storm came on, which however was in my favour, as it brought home Mr. Philips: every thing now assumed a new face in the house, the pantry flew open, the negroes redoubled their activity, and we soon saw a supper preparing with the most favourable auspices. Mr. Philips is an Irishman, translated to America, where he has already made a fortune; he appears to be cunning and adroit; and is cautious in talking to strangers: in other respects, he is more gay than the Americans, and even given to irony; a turn of mind but little known in America, and for which they have no

specific name, any more than for the different species of trees and birds. Mrs. Philips, now seconded by her husband, and more mistress of her work, soon resumed her natural serenity. She is of American birth, and a true *Yankee*,* as her husband told us; her face is gentle and agreeable, and her manners correspond entirely with her features.

The

* This is a name given by way of derision, and even simple pleasantry, to the inhabitants of the four eastern states. It is thought to come from a savage people who formerly occupied this country, and dwelt between the Connecticut river, and the state of Massachusetts. The name of *Buck-skin* is given in the same manner to the inhabitants of Virginia, because their ancestors were hunters, and sold buck, or rather deer skins, for we shall see in the second volume that there are no roebucks in Virginia.—

The English army serving in America, and England herself, will long have reason to remember the contemptuous use they made of this term in the late unhappy war, and the severe retort they met with on the occasion.—The *English army*, at Bunker's-Hill, marched to the insulting tune of "*Yankee doodle*," but from that period it became the air of triumph, the *Io Pœan* of *America*. It was *cuckoo* to the British ear. TRANSLATOR.

The 19th I left Litchfield between nine and ten in the morning, and pursued my journey through the mountains, partly on foot and partly on horseback; for having got into the habit of travelling from morning till night without stopping, I from time to time took pity on my horses, and spared them in those deserts which seemed formed for the roebuck rather than for carriages and laden horses. The name of the first town I came to, proclaims it to be of recent origin; it is called *Washington*. A new county being formed in the woods of Connecticut, the state has bestowed on it this respectable name, the memory of which will indisputably exist much longer than the town intended to perpetuate it. There is another county of Washington in Virginia, belonging to the Protector of America; but its great distance from this new city prevents all possible inconvenience arising from the identity of name.* This capital of a rising county has a Meeting-house,

* Other states have likewise commemorated the virtues of this great man in the same manner.

house, and seven or eight houses collected; it is in a beautiful situation, and the cultivation appears rich and well managed; a rivulet, which runs at the bottom of the valley, renders the meadows more fruitful than they generally are in mountainous countries.* From hence to Litchfield, they reckon,

• Two years after, the Author returned by this place, where he had only seen a few houses, and a single inn. The number was almost doubled, and there were three very good and well accommodated inns. He has remarked the same progress through almost all the interior parts of the country, from the bay of Chesapeak to *Piscataqua*, that is, through a space of six hundred miles. This progress is owing, in great measure, even to the misfortunes of the war. The English being masters of the sea, made, or had it in their power to make, what they called *depre-datory expeditions*. Marks of these horrid expeditions were every where to be met with in travelling within fifty miles of the coasts or rivers. In one of them it was agitated by the Generals *Garth*, *Tyron*, and their officers, to burn the beautiful and popular town of *Newhaven* in Connecticut, with its handsome college, &c. The latter General was for it, but happily, more humane and wiser spirits prevailed in the council. But this term, too shameful to be adopted into the vocabulary of war, denoted only a small part of the ravages they actually committed; murder and conflagrations were perpetually the incidents

reckon, seventeen miles: I had ten miles to go to reach *Moorhouse's* tavern, where I intended sleeping, but not taking the shortest road, I travelled at least twelve, and always among the mountains. That

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which

which occurred. Hence it happened that the citizens who were the most easy in their circumstances, that is to say, those who, uniting commerce with agriculture, had their plantations near the coasts, or the mouths of rivers, abandoned them for more tranquil habitations in the interior part of the country. The little capital they transported with them was employed in clearing our new settlements, which soon became prosperous. On the other hand, communications by sea becoming impracticable, it was necessary to make use of conveyances through the country: the roads in consequence were made better, and were more frequented; inns multiplied, as well as the establishment of all workmen useful for travellers, such as wheelwrights, blacksmiths, &c. So that, besides liberty and independence, the United States will derive this advantage from the war, that commerce and population will be greatly increased, and that lands, which had long remained barren, have been so successfully cultivated, as to prevent them from being again abandoned.——*The Translator had the opportunity of making the same remarks, not only in a journey from Virginia to New Hampshire, but in many of the interior parts of the continent.*

TRANSLATOR.

which I took brought me to a pretty considerable hamlet, called *New Milford-Bordering-Skirt*, or the confines of Milford county, and from thence into so deep and wild a valley, that I thought myself completely lost, until an opening in the wood made me perceive, first a meadow surrounded by fences, then a house, and soon after another, and at length a charming valley, with several considerable farms, covered with cattle. I soon crossed this spot, which belongs to the county of Kent, as well as the rivulet which flows through the middle of it, and after travelling three miles farther in the mountains, I reached the banks of the *Housatonick*, or the river of Stratford. It is unnecessary to remark that the first is the genuine name, that is, the name given it by the savages, the ancient inhabitants of the country. This river is not navigable, and is easily forded near *Bull's iron works*. We then turn to the left and pass along its banks; but if one is sensible to the beauties of Nature, if on seeing the paintings of *Vernet* and *Robert*, one has learnt to admire its models, it is impossible

ble not to be lost in admiration at the view of the charming landscape, formed by the combination of the forges, of the fall of water which seems to work them, and of the variegated prospect of trees and rocks, with which this picturesque scene is embellished. At the distance of a mile we again pass the same river on a wooden bridge; we soon meet with another called *Ten-nile river*, which falls into this, and which we follow for two or three miles, and then come in sight of several handsome houses, forming a part of the district called *The Oblong*. It is a long narrow slip of land, ceded by Connecticut to the state of New-York, in exchange for some other territory. The inn I was going to is in the Oblong, but two miles farther on. It is kept by *Colonel Moorhouse*; for nothing is more common in America than to see an inn-keeper a Colonel: they are in general militia Colonels, chosen by the militia themselves, who seldom fail to entrust the command to the most esteemed, and most creditable citizens*.

I pressed

* At Leesburgh in Virginia, in my way to visit General Gates, I staid three days at the house of

I pressed forward my horses, and hurried on to get the start of a traveller on horse-back, who had joined me on the road, and who would have had the same right with myself to the lodgings, had we arrived together. I had the satisfaction, however, to see him pursue his journey; but soon learnt, with concern, that the little inn where I proposed to pass that night, was occupied by thirteen farmers, and two hundred and fifty oxen coming from New Hampshire. The oxen were the least inconvenient part of the company, as they were left to graze in a meadow hard by, without even a dog to guard them; but the farmers, their horses, and dogs, were in possession of the inn. They were conveying to the army a part of the contingent of provisions furnished by New Hampshire. This contingent is a sort of tax divided amongst all the inhabitants, on some of whom the imposition amounts to

an Englishman, a native of Bristol, a man of five foot high, who united, in his own person, the office of Colonel, Justice of the Peace, Parish-Clerk, and Inn-keeper; nor was he deficient in any of these functions.

TRANSLATOR,

to one hundred and fifty, on others to one hundred, or eighty pounds of meat, according to their abilities; so that they agree amongst themselves to furnish a larger, or smaller sized ox, no matter which, as each animal is weighed. Their conveyance to the army is then entrusted to some farmers, and drovers. The farmers are allowed about a dollar a day, and their expences, as well as those of the cattle, are paid them on their return, according to the receipts they are obliged to produce from the inn-keepers where they have halted. The usual price is from three-pence to five-pence English per night for each ox, and in proportion at noon.

I informed myself of these particulars whilst my people were endeavouring to find me lodgings; but all the rooms, and all the beds were occupied by these farmers, and I was in the greatest distress, when a tall, fat man, the principal person amongst them, being informed who I was, came to me, and assured me, that neither he, nor his companions would ever suffer a French General Officer to want a bed, and that they would

would rather sleep on the floor; adding, that they were accustomed to it, and that it would be attended with no inconvenience. In reply I told them, I was a military man, and as much accustomed as themselves to make the earth my bed. We had long debates on this point of *politesse*; theirs was rustic, but more cordial and affecting than the best turned compliments. The result was, that I had a two-bedded room for myself and my Aides de Camp. But our acquaintance did not terminate there; after parting from each other, I to take some repose, they to continue drinking their grog and cyder, they came into my room. I was then employed in tracing my route by the map of the country; this map excited their curiosity. They saw there with surprise and satisfaction the places they had passed through. They asked me if they were known in Europe, and if it was there I had bought my maps. On my assuring them that we knew America as well as the countries adjoining to us, they seemed much pleased; but their joy was without bounds, when they saw New Hampshire, their

their country, on the map. They called their companions, who were in the next room; and mine was soon filled with the strongest and most robust men I had hitherto seen in America. On my appearing struck with their size and stature, they told me that the inhabitants of New Hampshire were strong and vigorous, for which there were many reasons; that the air was excellent, their sole occupation was agriculture, and above all that their blood was unmixed: this country being inhabited by ancient families who had emigrated from England. We parted good friends, touching, or rather shaking hands in the English fashion, and they assured me that they were very happy to have an opportunity, *to shake hands with a French General**.

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* The Translator, who as a disinterested, and determined friend to the rights of mankind, and to the principles of the English Constitution, could not but wish success to America in her glorious struggle; as a native of England had many similar occasions for interesting reflections on the vicissitude of human affairs, and of the wickedness of those who too frequently direct them. But in no instance was this more striking than in Virginia, where he saw the

The horse which carried my portmanteau, not travelling so fast as me, did not come. French army encamped on the very spot, from whence *Braddock* set out on his unfortunate expedition against the French, five and twenty years before. The traces of his encampment were still evident. In this expedition he was not only well seconded by the Provincials, but had their advice been followed, his success would have been very different. It is worth observing too, that no less than *four* of the most distinguished of the American Generals were with him on the expedition. *General Washington* was his Aide de Camp, and after dissuading him as much as possible from forming his army in the European manner, (the mistake which proved fatal to him) received him when mortally wounded in his arms; *General Lee* was in a detached party from the main body of the army; *General Gates* served in the army, and *General Stephens* was shot through the body in the engagement: Lee and Gates were Englishmen, and Stephens a Scotchman; all the four were now become inhabitants of Virginia. On the anniversary of that unfortunate day, the Translator dined in the back part of the country at General Gates's, with General Stephens, from whom he had many curious particulars; nor was the wonderful revolution in the affairs and minds of men, the subject of less anxious discussion with them, than with the Translator. At the time he is speaking of; indeed, during their whole stay, nothing could be more cordial and sincere than the kind reception given to the French by the Virginians. TRANSLATOR.

come up till the next morning, so that it was ten o'clock on the 20th of December, before I could set out. Three miles from Moorhouse's is a very high hill; we then descend, but not quite so much as we ascended; the road here is over elevated ground, leaving large mountains on the left: the country is well cultivated, affording the prospect of several pretty farms, with some mills; and notwithstanding the war, *Hopel* township is building, inhabited chiefly by Dutch people, as well as the greatest part of the state of New York, which formerly belonged to the republic of Holland, who exchanged it for Surinam. My intention was to sleep five miles on this side of Fish-kill, at Colonel Griffin's tavern. I found him cutting and preparing wood for fences: he assured me his house was full, which was easy to be believed, for it was very small. I continued my journey therefore, and reached Fish-kill about four o'clock. This town, in which there are not more than fifty houses in the space of two miles, has been long the principal depot of the American army. It is there they have placed their magazines, their hospitals, their workshops, &c. but

but all these form a town of themselves, composed of handsome large barracks, built in the wood at the foot of the mountains; for the Americans, like the Romans in many respects, have hardly any other winter quarters, than wooden towns, or barricaded camps, which may be compared to the *hiemalia* of the Romans.

As for the position of Fish-kill, that it was a post of great importance is evident from the campaign of 1777. It is clear that the plan of the English was to render themselves masters of the whole course of the North River, and thus to separate the Eastern and Western States. It was necessary therefore to secure a post on that river; *West Point* was made choice of as the most important to fortify, and Fish-kill as the place the best adapted to the establishment of the principal depot of provisions, ammunition, &c. these two positions are connected together. I shall soon speak of West Point, but I shall remark here, that Fish-kill has all the qualities necessary for a place of depot, for it is situated on the high road from Connecticut, and near the North River, and is protected at the same time by
a chain

a chain of inaccessible mountains, which occupy a space of more than twenty miles between the *Croton* river and that of Fish-kill.

The approach of winter quarters, and the movement of the troops occasioned by this circumstance, made lodgings very scarce: it was with difficulty I found any, but I got at last into a middling inn, kept by an old Mrs. Egremont. The house was not so clean as they usually are in America; but the most disagreeable circumstance was the want of several panes of glass. In fact, of all repairs, that of windows is the most difficult, in a country where, from the scattered situation and distance of the houses from each other, it is sometimes necessary to send twenty miles for a glazier. We made use of every thing that came to hand to patch up the windows in the best way we could, and we made an excellent fire. Soon after, the Doctor of the hospital, who had seen me pass, and knew me to be a French General-Officer, came with great politeness to see if I wanted any thing, and to offer me every service in his power. I

make use of the English word *Doctor*, because the distinction of Surgeon and Physician is as little known in the army of Washington, as in that of Agamemnon. We read in Homer, that the Physician Macaon himself dressed the wounds; but our Physicians, who are no Greeks, will not follow that example. The Americans conform to the ancient custom, and it answers very well; they are well pleased with their Doctors, whom they hold in the highest consideration. Doctor Craig, whom I knew at Newport, is the intimate friend of General Washington; and the Marquis de la Fayette had very lately an Aide de Camp, Colonel Mac-Henry, who the year before performed the functions of Doctor in the same army.*

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* My old friend *Rumney*, whom I had the happiness to meet with after an absence of twenty years, during which time he has been settled at Alexandria in Virginia, (whose respectable father has been forty years master of the Latin school at Alnwick in Northumberland, and his uncle Clergyman of Berwick) had served more than one campaign as Colonel, Doctor, and Surgeon in the army; he is held in the highest esteem, and is on terms of the

The 21st, at nine in the morning, the Quarter-Master of Fish-kill, who had come the night before with the utmost politeness to offer me his services, and to place two centinels at the door, an honour I refused in spite of every thing he could say, called upon me; and after drinking tea according to custom, he conducted me to see the barracks, the magazines, and work-houses of the different workmen employed in the service of the army. These barracks are wooden houses, well built, and well covered, having garrets, and even cellars,

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greatest friendship with General Washington, at whose house I spent some days with him. But it is impossible to conceive the estimation in which all the medical men, attached to the army, were held during the war, by the people in general, as well as the military. I travelled from Philadelphia to the American camp on the North river, with Mr. Craigie of that department, a most respectable young man, and was witness to the grateful acknowledgments his countrymen seemed every where to bestow on him, for the service he was rendering their suffering fellow citizens, nor indeed could any thing exceed the zeal, perseverance, and attention of this department under the most discouraging circumstances.

TRANSLATOR.

so that we should form a false idea, were we to judge of them by what we see in our armies, when our troops are *barragués*. The Americans sometimes make them like ours, but this is merely to cover the soldiers when they are more within reach of the enemy. They call these *huts*, and they are very expert in constructing one and the other. They require only three days to build the former, reckoning from the moment they begin to cut down the trees; the others are finished in four and twenty hours. They consist of little walls made of stones heaped up, the intervals of which are filled with earth kneaded with water, or simply with mud; a few planks form the roof; but what renders them very warm is, that the chimney occupies the outer side, and that you can only enter by a small door, at the side of the chimney. The army has passed whole winters under such huts, without suffering, and without sickness. As for the barracks, or rather the little military town of Fish-kill, such ample provision is made for every thing which the service and discipline of the army may require,

require, that a prévôté and a prison are built there, surrounded by pallisades. One gate only affords access to the inclosure of the prévôté; and before it is placed a guard-house. Through the window-bars of the prison, I distinguished some prisoners, with the English uniform; they were about thirty soldiers, or regimented *Tories*. These wretches had accompanied the savages in the excursion they had made by Lake Ontario and the Mohawk river. They had burnt upwards of two hundred houses, killed the horses and cows, and destroyed above one hundred thousand bushels of corn. The gallows should have been the reward of these exploits, but the enemy having also made some prisoners, reprisals were dreaded, and these robbers were only confined in rigorous and close imprisonment.

After passing some time in visiting these different settlements, I got on horseback, and under the conduct of a guard which the Quarter-Master gave me, I entered the wood and followed the road to West Point, where I wished to arrive for dinner. Four or five miles from Fish-kill, I saw some

felled trees, and an opening in the wood, which on coming nearer I discovered to be a camp, or rather huts inhabited by some hundred invalid soldiers. These invalids were all in very good health; but it is necessary to observe, that in the American armies, every soldier is called an invalid, who is unfit for service: now these had been sent here because their clothes were truly invalids. These honest fellows, for I will not say creatures, (they know too well how to suffer, and are suffering in too noble a cause) were not covered, even with rags; but their steady countenances, and their arms in good order, seemed to supply the defect of clothes, and to display nothing but their courage and their patience. Near this camp I met with Major *Liman*, Aid de camp to *General Heath*, with whom I was particularly intimate at Newport, and Mr. de Ville Franche, a French officer, serving as an Engineer at West-Point. General Heath had been informed of my arrival by an express, sent without my knowledge, by the Quarter-Master of Fish-kill, and he had dispatched these two

officers

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officers to meet me. I continued my journey in the woods, in a road hemmed in on both sides by very steep hills, which seemed admirably adapted for the dwelling of bears, and where in fact they often make their appearance in winter. We availed ourselves at length of a less difficult part of these mountains to turn to the Westward and approach the river, but which is still invisible. Descending them slowly, at the turning of the road, my eyes were struck with the most magnificent picture I had ever beheld. It was a view of the North-river, running in a deep channel formed by the mountains, through which in former ages it had forced its passage. The fort of West-Point, and the formidable batteries which defend it, fix the attention on the Western bank, but on lifting your eyes you behold on every side lofty summits, thick set with redoubts and batteries. I leaped off my horse and viewed them a long time with my spying glass, the only method of acquiring a knowledge of the whole of the fortifications with which this important post is surrounded. Two lofty

heights, on each of which a large redoubt is constructed, protect the Eastern bank. These two works have no other name than the Northern, and the Southern Redoubts; but from the fort of West-Point properly so called, which is on the edge of the river, to the very top of the mountain at the foot of which it stands, are six different forts, all in the form of an amphitheatre, and protecting each other. They compelled me to leave this place, where I should willingly have spent the whole day, but I had not travelled a mile before I saw the reason of their hurrying me. I perceived a corps of infantry of about two thousand five hundred men, ranged in a line of battle on the bank of the river. They had just passed it to proceed by *Kingsbridge*, and cover a grand foraging party which it was proposed to send towards the White-Plains, and to the gates of New York. *General Stark*, who beat the English at *Bennington*, had the command of these troops, and *General Heath* was at their head; he was desirous of letting me see them before they marched. I passed before the ranks, being
saluted

saluted with the esponton by all the officers, and the drums beating a march, an honour paid in America to Major-Generals, who are the first in rank, though it only corresponds with our *Marechal de Camp*. The troops were ill clothed, but made a good appearance; as for the officers they were every thing that could be wished, as well for their countenances, as for their manner of marching, and giving the command. After passing the front of the line, they broke it, filed off before me, and continued their route. General Heath conducted me to the river, where his barge was waiting to carry me to the other side. A new scene now opened to my view, not less sublime than the former. We descended with our faces towards the north: on that side is an island covered with rocks, which seem to close the channel of the river, but you soon perceive, through a sort of embrasure formed by its bed in separating immense mountains, that it comes obliquely from the westward, and that it has made a sudden turn round West-point to open itself a passage, and to endeavour to gain

gain the sea, without making hereafter the smallest bend. The eye carrying itself towards the North-Bay and *Constitution Island*, (the isle I have been speaking of) again perceives the river, distinguishes *New Windsor* on its left bank, and is then attracted by different amphitheatres formed by the Appalachian Mountains, the nearest summits of which, that terminate the scene, are distant upwards of thirty miles. We embarked in the barge, and passed the river, which is about a mile wide. As we approached the opposite shore, the fort of West-Point, which, seen from the eastern bank, seemed humbly situated at the foot of the mountains, elevated itself to our view, and appeared like the summit of a steep rock; this rock however was only the bank of the river. Had I not remarked that the chinks on it, in several places, were embrasures for cannon, and formidable batteries, I should soon have been apprised of it by thirteen 24-pounders, which were fired successively. This was a military salute, with which General Heath was pleased to honour me in the name of the Thirteen States.

States. Never was honour more commanding, nor more majestic; every gun was, after a long interval, echoed back from the opposite bank, with a noise nearly equal to that of the discharge itself. When we recollect that two years ago West-Point was a desert, almost inaccessible, that this desert has been covered with fortresses and artillery, by a people, who six years before had scarcely ever seen cannon; when we reflect that the fate of the United States depended in great measure on this important post; and that a horse dealer*, transformed into a General, or rather become a hero, always intrepid, always victorious, but always purchasing victory at the price of his blood; that this extraordinary man, at once the honour, and the opprobrium of his country, actually sold, and expected to deliver this *Palladium* of American liberty to the English; when so many extraordinary circumstances are brought together in the physical and moral order of things, it may easily be imagined that I had sufficient exercise for reflection, and that I did not tire on the road.

On

* Benedict Arnold. TRANSLATOR.

On landing, or rather on climbing the rocks on the banks of the river, we were received by Colonel Lamb, and Major Bowman, both officers of artillery; - by Major Fish, a handsome young man, witty and well formed; and Major Franks, formerly Aid de Camp to Arnold. The latter had been tried and honourably acquitted by a council of war, demanded by himself after the escape and treason of his General. He speaks good French, as well as Colonel Lamb, which they both learnt in Canada, where they were settled.* The latter received a musquet shot in his jaw at the attack of Quebec, fighting by the side of Arnold, and having nearly penetrated into the upper town. Pressed by dinner time, we went immediately to General Heath's barrack. The fort, which was begun on much too extensive a plan, has been since curtailed by Mr. du Portail, so that this barrack is no longer within its precincts. Around it are some magazines, and farther to the north-west, barracks for three or four

* Mr. Franks is the son of a Canadian Jew.

four battalions; they are built of wood, and similar to those of Fish-kill. Whilst dinner was preparing, General Heath took me into a little closet, which served him as a bedchamber, and shewed me the instructions he had given General Stark for the grand foraging party he commanded. This expedition required a movement of troops in a space of more than fifty miles; and I can affirm, that they were as well conceived as any instructions of that kind I have ever seen, either in print, or manuscript. He shewed me also a letter in which General Washington only ordered him to send this detachment, and pointed out its object, without communicating to him, however, another operation connected with it, which was to take place on the right bank of the North-River. From various intelligence, by indirect ways, General Heath was persuaded, that in case the enemy collected his force to interrupt the forage, Mr. de la Fayette would attack *Staten Island*, and he was not deceived; but Mr. Washington contented himself with announcing generally some movements on his

his side, adding, that he waited for a more safe method of communicating the nature of them to General Heath. Secrecy is strictly observed in the American army; very few persons are in the confidence of the Commander, and in general there is less said of the operations of war, of what we call news, than in the French army.

General Heath is so well known in our little army, that I should dispense with entering into particulars respecting him, if this Journal, in which I endeavour to recollect what little I have seen in this country, were not destined at the same time to satisfy the curiosity of others who have not crossed the sea, and to whose amusement I am desirous of contributing. This General was one of the first who took up arms, at the blockade of Boston, and having at first joined the army in the quality of Colonel, he was immediately raised to the rank of Major-General. He was at that time a substantial farmer or rich gentleman; for we must not lose sight of the distinction, that in America, *farmer* means cultivator, in opposition to *merchant*, which every

every man is called who is employed in commerce. Here, as in England, by *gentleman*, is understood a person possessing a considerable *freehold*, or land of his own. General Heath, then, was a farmer or gentleman, and reared, on his estate, a great number of cattle, which he sold for ships provisions. But his natural taste led him to the study of war; to which he has principally applied himself since the period in which his duty has concurred with his inclination; he has read our best authors on tactics, and especially the Tactics of Mr. Guibert, which he holds in particular estimation. His fortune enabling him to continue in the service, notwithstanding the want of pay, which has compelled the less rich to quit it, he has served the whole war; but accident has prevented him from being present on the most important occasions. His countenance is noble and open; and his bald head, as well as his corpulence, give him a striking resemblance to the late *Lord Granby*. He writes well and with ease; has great sensibility of mind, and a frank and amiable character; in

in short, if he has not been in the way of displaying his talents in action, it may be at least asserted, that he is well adapted to the business of the cabinet. His estate is near Boston, and he commanded there when Burgoyne's army were brought prisoners thither. It was he who put the English General Philips in arrest,* for want

of
It may now be mentioned, without any invidious imputation, that the conduct of too many of the British officers, when prisoners in America, was as injurious to the honour and interest of their country, as destitute of good sense and common policy; of this the Translator saw many examples which made him blush for England. At Lancaster in Pennsylvania, in particular, he was present at a court of inquiry, instituted into the conduct of some British officers who had broken their parole more than once, and insulted and beat the inhabitants of the country; nothing could be clearer or more decisive than the evidence, nor more polite and indulgent than the behaviour of the American officers who constituted the court, yet were they openly insulted and contemptuously treated by these magnanimous gentlemen officers. Their names are withheld by the Translator, on account of their families; they were a part of the army taken at York-Town, with Cornwallis. Captain Grenville of the Guards, and others who conducted themselves really like gentlemen, can say how well they were treated. TRANSLATOR.

of respect to the Congress; his conduct on this occasion was firm and noble. On our arrival at Rhode Island, he was sent there; and soon after, when Clinton was preparing to attack us, he assembled and commanded the militia, who came to our assistance. During his stay at Newport, he lived honourably, and in great friendship with all the French officers. In the month of September, General Washington, on discovering the treason of Arnold, sent for him, and gave him the command of West-Point; a mark of confidence the more honourable, as none but the honestest of men was proper to succeed, in this command, the basest of all traitors.

After giving this advantageous but just idea of General Heath, I cannot but congratulate myself on the friendship, and thorough good understanding which subsisted between us during his stay at Newport, where my knowledge of the English language rendered me the medium in all affairs we had to transact with him. It was with real satisfaction he received me at West-Point; he gave me a plain but very

good dinner. It is true there was not a drop of wine ; but I find that with excellent cyder, and *toddy*, one may very well dispense with it. As soon as we rose from table, we hurried to avail ourselves of the remaining daylight to examine the fortifications. The first fort we met with above West-Point, on the declivity of the mountain, is called *Fort Putnam*, from the General of that name. It is placed on a rock very steep on every side ; the ramparts were at first constructed with trunks of trees ; they are rebuilt with stone, and are not quite finished. There is a powder magazine bomb-proof, a large cistern, and souterrains for the garrison. Above this fort, and when we reach the loftiest summit, there are three strong redoubts lined with cannon, at three different eminences, each of which would require a formal siege. The day being nearly spent, I contented myself with judging by the eye of the very intelligent manner in which they are calculated for mutual protection. *Fort Wallis*, whither General Heath conducted me, was nearer and more accessible. Though it be placed

placed lower than fort *Putnam*, it still commands the river to the south. It is a large pentagonal redoubt, built of huge trunks of trees; it is picketed, and lined with artillery. Under the fire of this redoubt, and lower down, is a battery of cannon, to range more obliquely the course of the river. This battery is not closed at the gorge, so that the enemy may take, but can never keep it; which leads me to remark that this is the best method in all field fortifications. Batteries placed in works, have two inconveniences: the first is, that if these works be ever so little elevated, they do not graze sufficiently; and the second, that the enemy may at once attack the redoubt and the battery: whereas the latter being exterior and protected by the redoubt, must be first attacked; in which case it is supported by troops who have nothing to fear for themselves, and whose fire is commonly better directed, and does more execution. A battery yet lower, and nearer to the river, completes the security of the southern part.

In returning to West-Point, we saw a redoubt that is suffered to go to ruin, as being useless, which in fact it is. It was night when we got home, but what I had to observe did not require daylight. It is a vast souterrain, formed within the fort of West-Point, where not only the powder and ammunition necessary for this post are kept in reserve, but the deposit of the whole army. These magazines completely filled, the numerous artillery one sees in these different fortresses, the prodigious labour necessary to transport, and pile up on steep rocks, huge trunks of trees, and enormous hewn stones, impress the mind with an idea of the Americans very different from that which the English ministry have laboured to give to Parliament. A Frenchman would be surprised that a nation, just rising into notice, should have expended in two years upwards of twelve millions (half a million sterling) in this desert. He would be still more so on learning that these fortifications *cost nothing to the state, being built by the soldiers, who received not*
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*the smallest gratification, and who did not even receive their stated pay; ** but he would doubtless feel some satisfaction, in hearing

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that

* The zeal, perseverance, and I may say, *honour*, which shone forth in the American army, in the most arduous and extraordinary circumstances, almost surpasses credibility. They were in general most wretchedly clothed, seldom received any pay, were frequently in want of every thing, from the public scarcity of money, and the consequent indifference of the contractors, and had daily temptations thrown out to them of the most alluring nature. This army, was composed of all nations, yet they seemed to be pervaded but by one spirit, and fought, and acted with as much enthusiastic ardour, as the most enlightened and determined of their leaders. We all remember, when their intolerable distresses drove part of them to revolt in 1780, when Clinton sent emissaries among them, with the most advantageous offers, and made a movement of his army to favour their desertion, that they disdainfully refused his offers, appealing to their *honour*, and delivered up, with indignation, the British emissaries, who were executed at Trenton. *Mr. Hugh Shield*, and *Mr. John Maxwell Nesbitt*, two Irish gentlemen settled at Philadelphia, who were entrusted with the care of them, informed the Translator, that one of them was an officer of some note in the British army. On the morning of their execution, this gentleman desired *Mr. Shield* to accompany him to the necessary, wherein he staid some time, apparently with

that these beautiful and well-contrived works, were planned and executed by two French Engineers, *Mr. du Portail*, and *Mr. du Gouvion*, who received no more pay than their workmen.

But in this wild and warlike abode, where one seems transported to the bottom of Thrace and the dominions of the god Mars, we found, on our return in the evening, some pretty women, and an excellent dish of tea. Mrs. Boman, wife of the Major of that name, and a young sister who

the hopes of effecting his escape, but this failing, he addressed that gentleman as follows. "I see, Sir, "that you are faithful to the trust reposed in you, "and that my die is cast; but as you are a gentle- "man, I hope you will not fail to let General "Clinton know, that my fidelity is unshaken, that "I die a loyal subject to George the Third, and that "I hope he will not forget my family." He then made a hearty breakfast of cold beef, and was executed with his companion on a tree near the river Delaware, full of courage, and making the same declarations. To account for the subordinate situation in which Messrs. Nesbitt and Shield appear to have acted on this occasion, it is necessary to observe, that on all emergencies the merchants of Philadelphia flew to arms and acted as common soldiers.

TRANSLATOR.

who had accompanied her to West-Point, were waiting for us. They lodged in a little barrack neatly arranged. The room they received us in, was hung with handsome paper, furnished with mahogany tables, and even ornamented with several prints. After staying a little time, it was necessary to return to General Heath's quarters, and to dispose matters for passing the night, which was not an easy affair; for the company were much increased in the course of the evening, by the arrival of the Vicomte de Noailles, the Comte de Damas, and the Chevalier Duplessis. Mauduit had reached West-Point, which post they had intended to examine minutely; but the motions of the American army determined them to set out with me, in order to join Mr. de la Fayette, the next evening, or early the following morning. Though General Heath had a great deal of company to provide for, his *Marechal de Logis* had not much to do: there were only three rooms in the barracks; the General's chamber, that of his Aid de Camp, who resigned it to me; and the dining-room,

in which some blankets were spread before a large fire, where the other gentlemen passed as comfortable a night as could be expected. The morning gun soon summoned them from their beds; the blankets were removed, and the dining-room, resuming its rights, was quickly furnished with a large table covered with beefsteaks, which we eat with a very good appetite, swilling down from time to time a cup of tea. Europeans would not find this food and drink, taken together, to their taste; but I can assure you that it made a very comfortable breakfast. There now fell a very heavy rain, which had begun in the night, and still continued, with a dreadful wind, which rendered the passage of the ferry very dangerous for our horses, and prevented us from making use of the sail, in the barge General Heath had given us, to carry us to King's Ferry. In spite of all these obstacles we embarked under the firing of thirteen guns, notwithstanding our representations to the contrary. Another circumstance, however, gave additional value to these honours, for the
pieces

pieces they discharged had belonged to Burgoyne's army. Thus did the artillery sent from Woolwich to Canada in 1777, now serve to defend America, and do homage to her allies, until it was to be employed in the siege of New York.

General Heath, who was detained by business at West-Point, sent Major Liman to accompany me to *Verplank's-Point*, where we did not arrive till between twelve and one, after a continued journey amidst the immense hills which cover this country, and leave no other interval than the bed of the river. The highest of them is called *Anthony's Nose*; it projects into the river, and compels it to make a little change in its course. Before we arrive at this point, we see the ruins of fort Clinton: this fort, which was named after the Governor of the states of New York, was attacked and taken in 1777 by the English General Clinton, as he was remounting the river to Albany to give his hand to Burgoyne. * It was then the

* A poor fellow who was sent with a letter from Burgoyne to Clinton, inclosed in a silver bullet, miscarried in his message, and lost his life by the

the principal fort on the river, and built on a rock, at the foot of a mountain, thought to be inaccessible, and was farther defended by a little creek which falls into the main river. Sir Henry Clinton scaled the top of the mountain, himself carrying the British colours, which he always held aloft, until his troops descended the steep rock, passed the creek, and carried the post. The garrison, consisting of 700 men, were almost all taken. Since the defeat of Burgoyne, and the alliance with France has changed the face of affairs in America, General Washington has not thought proper to repair fort Clinton; he preferred placing his communication and concentrating his forces at West-Point, because the *Hudson*

fameness of names of the American and British commanders. Falling in, in the woods, with a party of Americans clothed in British uniform, which they had taken, he inquired eagerly for *General Clinton*, to whom he was instantly conducted, but on discovering that it was not *the Clinton* he was in search of, in the face of a number of spectators, he swallowed the bullet. Emetics and purgatives were instantly administered, which made him disgorge, and the unfortunate fellow was hanged on the next tree. TRANSLATOR,

son there makes a circuit which prevents vessels from remounting with the wind abaft, or with the tide ; and Constitution Isle, which is precisely at the turn of the river, in a direction north and south, is perfectly well situated to protect the chain which closes the passage for ships of war.

The English, however, had preserved a very important post at King's Ferry, where they were sufficiently well fortified ; so that by the aid of their ships, they were masters of the course of the river for the space of more than fifty miles, and were thus able to repel to the northward the very important communication between the Jerseys and Connecticut. Such was the state of things, when, in the month of June, 1779, *General Wayne*, who commanded in the Clove a corps of 1500 men, formed the project of surprising *Stoney Point*. This fort was in an entrenchment, surrounded with an abattis, which crowned a steep rock, and formed a well-picketed redoubt. General Wayne marched, in the night, in three columns, the principal of which was led on by Monsieur de Fleury, who, without

out firing a musquet, forced the abattis, and entrenchments, and entered the redoubt with the fugitives.* The attack was so brisk on the part of the Americans, and such the terror of the English, that Mr. de Fleury, who was the first that entered, found himself in an instant loaded with eleven swords which were delivered to him by those who asked for quarter. It must be added to the honour of our allies, that from that moment not a drop of blood was spilt. † The Americans, once masters of
one

* This officer had already distinguished himself on many occasions, particularly at the retreat of General Sullivan from Rhode Island, and at the defence of Mud Island. He went to America in 1777. He has since been Major of the regiment of Saint Onge, and served as Major of brigade in the army of the Count de Rochambeau. On his return to France, he was made Colonel of the regiment of Pondicherry, and is now in India.

† I cannot here resist a pang of sorrow for the dreadful consequences of the late desperate and fatal war. *Captain Jew* of the 17th regiment, as brave an officer, and as amiable a man as ever lived, whom I had long known and esteemed, when serving with our common friend *Montgomery* in that regiment, here lost his life, refusing to take quarter. This
gallant

one of the banks of the river, lost no time in getting possession of the other. Mr. de Gouvion constructed a redoubt at *Verplank's Point* (nearly opposite), where we landed, and where, by a lucky accident, we found our horses, arrived as soon as us. This redoubt is of a peculiar form, hardly ever used but in America: the ditch is within the

gallant man was already perforated with wounds received in Canada and the West Indies, fighting under his Colonel, *General Monckton*, in the preceding war, and was such a spectacle of a wounded body still in life, as to be particularly pointed out to the King his master's notice at a review of the regiment near London in 1770 or 1771; *the King* asked him many questions, seemed much affected with his situation, expressed his pity, and—he was left to pine a subaltern, and to follow his regiment once more to scenes of war and a distant climate. He deeply felt this ever after, and chagrin, no doubt, added to his despair, had made him wish for death. The fate of my most intimate and lamented friend, *Montgomery*, who fell, as he thought in a better cause, and on the very spot where he had attended *Wolfe*, to victory and glory, affords ample food for melancholy reflection, not easy to be effaced from susceptible minds, and who have felt a double loss of friends, in the horrors of this detestable war.

TRANSLATOR.

the parapet, which is made steep on both sides, and picketed at the height of the cordon; lodgings for the soldiers are formed below. The middle of the work is a space constructed with wood, and in the form of a square tower. There are battlements every where, and it commands the rampart. An abattis formed of the tops of trees interwoven, surrounds the whole, and is a substitute for a covered way. We may easily perceive that such a work cannot be insulted, nor taken without cannon. Now as this is backed by the mountains, of which the Americans are always masters, it is almost impossible that the English should besiege it. A creek which falls into Hudson's river, and runs to the southward of this redoubt, renders its position still more advantageous. *Colonel Livingston*, who commands at King's Ferry, has established himself there in preference to Stoney Point, to be nearer the White Plains, where the English frequently make incursions. This is a very amiable and well-informed young man. Previous to the war he married in Canada, where he has acquired the French

French language: in 1775, he was one of the first who took arms; he fought under the orders of *Montgomery*, and took fort Chambly, whilst the former was besieging St. John's. He received us in his little citadel with great politeness; but to leave it with the honours of war, the American laws required that we should breakfast: It was the second we had taken that day, and consisted of beef-steaks, and tea, accompanied with a few bowls of grog; for the commander's cellar was no better stored than the soldiers wardrobe. The latter had been sent into this garrison as being the worst clothed of the whole American army, so that one may form some idea of their drefs.

About two o'clock we crossed the river, and stopped to examine the fortifications of Stoney Point. The Americans finding them too extensive, had reduced them to a redoubt, nearly similar to that of Verplanks, but not quite so good. There I took leave of Mr. Livingston, who gave me a guide to conduct me to the army, and I set off, preceded by Messieurs de Noailles, de Damas, and

and de Mauduit, who wished to join Mr. de la Fayette that night, though they had thirty miles to go, through very bad roads. This impatience was well suited to their age; but the intelligence I collected proving to me that the army could not move before the next day, I determined to stop on the road, content to profit by the little daylight that remained to travel ten or twelve miles. On leaving the river, I frequently turned round to enjoy the magnificent spectacle it presents in this place, where its bed becomes so large, that in viewing it to the southward, it has the appearance of an immense lake, whilst the northern aspect is that of a majestic river. I was desirous to observe a sort of promontory, from whence Colonel Livingston had formed the project of taking the *Vulture* sloop of war, which brought *André*, and was waiting for *Arnold*. This vessel having come too near the shore, grounded at low water; the Colonel acquainted Arnold with it, and asked him for two pieces of heavy cannon, assuring him that he would place them so as to sink her. Arnold eluded the proposal on frivolous pretences,

pretences, so that the Colonel could only bring one four-pounder, which was at *Verplank's* to bear on her. This piece raked the vessel fore and aft, and did her so much damage, that if she had not got off with the flood, she must have struck. The next day, Colonel Livingston being on the shore, saw Arnold pass in his barge, as he was going down the river to get on board the frigate. He declares that he had such a suspicion of him, that had his guard boats been near, he would have gone after him instantly, and asked him where he was going. This question probably would have embarrassed the traitor, and Colonel Livingston's suspicions being thence confirmed, he would have arrested him *.

VOL. I.

H

My

*. There is every reason to believe that Arnold's treachery took its date from his connection with Lieutenant *Hele*, killed afterwards on board the *Formidable* in the West Indies, and who was undoubtedly a very active and industrious spy at Philadelphia in the winter of 1778, whither he was sent for that purpose in a pretended flag of truce, which being wrecked in the Delaware, he was made prisoner by Congress, a subject of much discussion between them, and the commander at New York. That the intended plot

My thoughts were occupied with Arnold and his treason, when my road brought me to *Smith's* famous house where he had his interview with André, and formed his horrid plot. It was in this house they passed the night together, and where André changed his clothes. It was there that the liberty of America was bargained for and sold; and it was there that chance, which is always the arbiter of great events, disconcerted this horrible project, and that satisfied with sacrificing the imprudent André, she prevented the crime, only by the escape of the criminal. André was repassing the river quietly, to gain New York by the White Plains, had not the cannon fired at the

was known in England, and great hopes built upon it, long before it was to take place, is certain. General Matthews and other officers who returned in the autumn of 1780, being often heard to declare, "that it was all over with the rebels: that they were about to receive an irreparable blow, the news of which would soon arrive, &c. &c." Their silence from the moment in which they received an account of the failure of the plot, and the discovery of the traitor, evidently pointed out the object of their allusions.

TRANSLATOR.

the frigate, made him apprehend the falling in with the American troops. He imagined, that favoured by his disguise, he should be safer on the right bank: a few miles from thence he was stopped, and a few miles farther he found the gibbet.

Smith, who was more than suspected, but not convicted of being a party in the plot, is still in prison, where the law protects him against justice. But his house seems to have experienced the only chastisement of which it was susceptible; it is punished by solitude; and is in fact so deserted, that there is not a single person to take care of it, although it is the mansion of a large farm.* I pursued my route, but without being able to give so much attention as to recollect it; I only remember that it was as gloomy as my reflections; it brought me into a deep vale, covered with cypresses; a torrent rolled over the rocks, which I passed, and soon after night came on. I had still some

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miles

* *Smith's* is a very handsome house and beautifully situated, but was in the same desolate state when the Translator was there in 1780. TRANSLATOR.

miles to an inn, where I got tolerably well accommodated. It is situated in *Haverstraw*, and is kept by another *Smith*, but who in no way resembles the former; he assured me he was a good whig, and as he gave me a good supper, I readily believed him.

The 23d I set out at eight o'clock, with the intention of arriving in good time at the Marquis de la Fayette's camp; for I had learnt that the army was not to move that day, and I was desirous of being presented by him to *General Washington*. The shortest road was by *Paramus*; but my guide insisted on my turning to the northward, assuring me that the other road was not safe, that it was infested by tories, and that he always avoided it, when he had letters to carry. * I took the road to the right there-

* The guide gave the Marquis very true information, for the Translator, who took the *Paramus* road, had several well-founded alarms, in passing through that intricate country. At *Hopper's Mill*, near *Paramus*, where he slept amongst myriads of rats in a milk-house, the family assured him, that their quarters were constantly beat up, and horses, men, &c. carried off.

therefore, and followed for some time the rivulet of *Romopog*; I then turned to the left, and soon got into the township of *Pompton*, and into the *Totohaw* road; but being informed that it led me straight to the main body of the army, without passing by the van commanded by M. de la Fayette, I inquired for some cross road to his quarter, and one was pointed out to me, by which, passing near a sort of lake which forms a very agreeable point of view, and then crossing some very beautiful woods, I arrived at a stream which falls into *Second River*, exactly at the spot where M. de la Fayette was encamped. His posts lined the rivulet; they were well disposed, and in good order. At length I arrived at the camp; but the Marquis was not there; apprized of my

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coming

At this place there was no lock to the stable door, which they said was here a superfluous article, as these banditti were guilty of every act of violence. He received similar information from his friend *Doctor Brown* of Bridport in Dorsetshire, but who has been long settled in America, and was attached to the continental army, with whom he breakfasted, at his beautiful little residence, next morning. TRANSLATOR.

coming by the Vicomte de Noailles, he had gone to wait for me at seven miles distance, at head quarters, where he thought I should direct my course. He had sent, however, Major Gimat, and one of his Aides de Camp, to meet me, but they had taken the two roads to Paramus; so that by his precautions, and those of my guide, I was, as they say in English, completely disappointed, for it was two o'clock, and I had already travelled thirty miles without stopping. I was in the utmost impatience to embrace M. de la Fayette, and to see General Washington, but I could not make my horses partake of it. It was proposed to me to proceed directly to head quarters, because, said they, I might *perhaps* arrive in time for dinner. But seeing the impossibility of that, and being in a country where I was known, I desired some oats for my horses. Whilst they were making this slight repast, I went to see the camp of the *Marquis*, * it is thus they

* It is impossible to paint the esteem and affection with which this French nobleman is regarded in America. It is to be surpassed only by the love of their illustrious chief. He has found the secret of winning

they call Mr. de la Fayette; the English language being fond of abridgments, and titles uncommon in America. I found this camp placed in an excellent position; it occupied two heights separated by a small bottom, but with an easy communication between them. The river Totohaw or *Second River*, protects its right, and it is here that it makes a considerable elbow, and turning towards the south, falls at length into the bay of *Newark*. The principal part of the front, and all the left flank, to a great distance, are covered by the rivulet which comes

H 4 from

all their hearts; nor to those who know him is it matter of any wonder. In the gentlest, and most courteous manner, he unites a frankness, which is supposed to be not the general characteristic of his countrymen; his deportment is dignified without pride; and his zeal, activity, and enthusiasm in the cause of America, distinct from all the political views of co-operation with the wishes of his court, added to a sincere and uniform admiration of the greatest and best character of the age, completely endeared this excellent young man to grateful America. *The Marquis* was never spoken of in the hearing of the Translator, without manifest tokens of attachment and affection. TRANSLATOR.

from Paramus, and falls into the same river. This position is only twenty miles from New York island; and was accordingly occupied by the van guard, consisting of light infantry, that is to say, by the picked corps of the American army: the regiments, in fact, which compose it have no grenadiers, but only a company of light infantry, answering to our *Chasseurs*, and of whom battalions are formed at the beginning of the campaign. This troop made a good appearance, were better clothed than the rest of the army; the uniforms both of the officers and soldiers were smart and military, and each soldier wore a helmet made of hard leather, with a crest of horse-hair. The officers are armed with espontoons, or rather with half pikes, and the subalterns with fusils: but both were provided with short and light sabres, brought from France, and made a present of to them by M. de la Fayette. The tents, agreeably to the American custom, formed only two ranks; they were in regular lines, as well as those of the officers; and as the season was advanced, they had good chimneys, but placed differently

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ently from ours; for they are all built on the outside, and conceal the entrance of the tents, which produce the double effect of keeping off the wind, and of preserving heat night and day. I saw no piles of arms, and was informed that the Americans made no use of them. When the weather is good, each company places its fusils on a wooden horse; but when it rains, they must be removed into the tents, which is undoubtedly a great inconvenience: this will be remedied when the means of doing it are more abundant, but I fear much, that this will not happen the next year.

As I was walking in the front of the camp, I was joined by an officer, who spoke very good French; which was not astonishing, as he turned out to be as much a Frenchman as myself; this was *Major Galvan*. This officer came to America on commercial affairs, on which subject he has even had a sort of trial with the Congress; but he was patronized by many persons, and particularly by the Chevalier de la Luzerne, our Ambassador: desiring to enter into the service, he obtained the rank

rank of Major, and the command of a battalion of light infantry. He is a man of abilities, and they are very well satisfied with him in the American army.* He led

* Major Galvan, with whom I was well acquainted in Philadelphia, was a French West-Indian, who came, as the Marquis de Chastellux mentions, to America on commercial affairs. He was allowed to be an active good officer. During his residence at Philadelphia in 1782, he became enamoured of a beautiful and accomplished widow of the first distinction in the country. Having conceived the most flattering hopes of success to his passion, he was so shocked at finding himself deceived, that he formed the most desperate resolution. After writing a pathetic, but reproachful letter to the object of his love, and another to her female friend, sister to Mrs. Arnold, and arranging all his affairs, he spent the day cheerfully in company with some brother officers at the inn where he lodged, but with some serious intervals. As soon as the tea was over, retiring to his room, he locked the door, placed himself opposite the looking glass, and with two pistols, one in each hand, put an end to his existence. On my arrival at Bourdeaux, at the end of the war, I fell in company with a gentleman, who for several days was particularly inquisitive about the Major's conduct, what the general opinion of him was, &c. Fortunately his conduct was irreproachable; had it been otherwise, this gentleman was imprudently searching

led me to his tent, where I found a table neatly spread: he proposed to me to dine, but I did not accept it, imagining I should lose nothing by waiting for that which General Washington would give me. After all we have heard in Europe of the distressed state of the American army, it will appear extraordinary, perhaps, that such a thing as a dinner was to be found at the tent of a Major. Doubtless it is impossible to live without money, when every thing one eats is to be paid for; a privilege the Americans possess no more than others. But it must be understood, that they receive rations of provisions, rum, and flour; that they have in each regiment a Baker to bake their bread, and soldiers to serve them; so that an officer who takes the field with a tent, and a sufficiency of clothing, may do very well till winter without spending any thing. The misfortune is, that provisions sometimes fail, or do not arrive in time;
in

for pain to himself and me, as he, to my no small surprise and mortification, declared himself to be *his brother*.

TRANSLATOR.

in which case they really suffer ; but these are critical moments, which do not often occur, and may be prevented in future, if the states perform their engagements, and the Quarter-Master-General, and Commissaries do their duty.* I left Mr. Galvan sitting down to dinner, and went to prepare my horses, that I might get to head quarters before the day was spent. Colonel Mac Henry, whom I have before mentioned, took upon himself to conduct me. We kept along the river, which was on our left. After riding two miles we came in sight of the left of the army. It was

* On the universal stoppage of paper money, from its enormous depreciation, the worst of specie, notwithstanding the abilities and activity of Mr. Morris, the financier, occasioned great wants in the army, and a total indifference on the part of the contractors ; insomuch, that in the end of 1782, the army was in danger of disbanding from absolute necessity. It was on this critical occasion that *Colonel Wadsworth*, whose merit has been so well appreciated by the author, stepped in, took the contract on himself, and by his *name* and *influence* restored affairs, and kept the army together. America cannot be too grateful to this gentleman.

TRANSLATOR,

was encamped on two heights, and in one line, in an extended but very good position, having a wood in the rear, and in the front the river, which is very difficult of passage every where except at *Totohau-Bridge*. But the situation would be quite in favour of an army defending the left bank, the heights on that side every where commanding those of the right. Two miles beyond the bridge is a meeting-house of an hexagonal form, which is given to their places of worship by the Dutch Presbyterians, who are very numerous in the Jerseys.

I was pursuing my journey, conversing with Mr. Mac Henry, when I was apprized by a considerable noise, that I could not be far from the great cataract, called *Totohau-Fall*. I was divided between my impatience to view this curiosity, and that of approaching General Washington; but Mr. Mac Henry informing me that it would not take me two hundred paces out of my way to see the cataract, I determined to avail myself of the remainder of a fine day, and I had not in fact gone a stone's throw before

before I had the astonishing spectacle before me of a large river, which precipitates itself from a height of seventy feet, and so ingulphed in the hollow of a rock, which seems to swallow it up, but from whence it escapes by turning short to the right. It seems to me impossible to give an idea of this water-fall, but by a drawing. Let us however attempt the picture, leaving the finishing to the imagination: she is the rival of Nature, and sometimes also her rival and interpreter. Let the reader figure to himself, then, a river running between mountains covered with firs, the dark green of which is in contact with the colour of its waters, and renders its course more majestic; let him represent to himself an immense rock, which would totally close up the passage, had it not, by an earthquake, or some other subterraneous revolution, been rent in several pieces, from its summit to its base, by this means forming long crevices perfectly vertical. One of these crevices, the depth of which is unknown, may be twenty-five or thirty feet wide. It is in this cavern that the
river

river having cleared a part of the rock, precipitates itself with violence; but as this rock crosses its whole bed, it can only escape by that extremity of the two, which offers it an outlet. There a fresh obstacle presents itself: another rock opposes its flight, and it is obliged to form a right angle, and turn short to the left. But it is extraordinary, that after this dreadful fall, it neither froths, nor boils up, nor forms whirlpools, but goes off quietly by its channel, and gains, in silence, a profound valley, where it pursues its course to the sea. This perfect calm, after a movement so rapid, can only proceed from the enormous depth of the cavern, into which it is plunged. I did not examine the rock with aqua fortis; but as there seem to be no calcareous stones in this country, I take it to be hard rock, and of the nature of quartz: but it presents a peculiarity worthy of attention, which is, that its whole surface is hollowed into little squares. Was it in a state of fusion when raised from the bowels of the earth, and it blocked up the passage of the river? These vertical crevices,

vices, these flaws on the surface, are they the effects of its cooling? These are questions I leave to the discussion of the learned: I shall only observe, that there is no volcanic appearance; nor through this whole country are there the smallest traces of a volcano, of such at least as are posterior to the last epochas of Nature.

Though Doctor Mac Henry began by being a *Doctor*, before he was an officer, and is well informed, I did not find him much versed in natural history, and I preferred questioning him on the subject of the army along the front of which I rode, meeting perpetually with posts, who took arms, the drum beating, and the officers saluting with the esponton. All these posts were not for the safety of the army; many of them were stationed to guard houses and barns, which served as magazines. At length, after riding two miles along the right flank of the army, and after passing thick woods on the right, I found myself in a small plain, where I saw a handsome farm; a small camp which seemed to cover it, a large tent extended in the

the court, and several waggons round it, convinced me that this was his *Excellency's* quarter; for it is thus Mr. Washington is called in the army, and throughout America. M. de la Fayette was in conversation with a tall man, five feet nine inches high, (about five feet ten inches and a half English) of a noble and mild countenance. It was the General himself. I was soon off horseback, and near him. The compliments were short; the sentiments with which I was animated, and the good wishes he testified for me were not equivocal. He conducted me to his house, where I found the company still at table, although the dinner had been long over. He presented me to the Generals Knox, Waine, Howe, &c. and to his *family*, then composed of Colonels Hamilton and Tilgman, his Secretaries and his Aides de Camp, and of Major Gibbs, commander of his guards; for in England and America, the Aides de Camp, Adjutants and other officers attached to the General, form what is called his *family*. A fresh dinner was prepared for me, and mine; and the present was pro-

VOL. I. I longed

longed to keep me company. A few glasses of claret and Madeira accelerated the acquaintances I had to make, and I soon felt myself at my ease near the greatest and the best of men. The goodness and benevolence which characterize him, are evident from every thing about him; but the confidence he gives birth to, never occasions improper familiarity; for the sentiment he inspires has the same origin in every individual, a profound esteem for his virtues, and a high opinion of his talents.* About nine

* Rochefaucault has said, "That no man is a hero to his Valet de Chambre." Without combating the general justice of the remark, this excellent man is most certainly an exception. Those who are the nearest to his person love him the most, but this is never separated from a marked degree of respect and admiration. This is not only the universal testimony, but I had myself the high gratification of observing it. Before the war, there was not a gentleman within the circle of his neighbourhood, who, having important concerns, or a family to leave behind him, did not close his eyes in peace, could he be so fortunate as to get Mr. Washington for an executor: an unequivocal proof of his integrity. I have likewise the strongest testimony to refute those injurious insinuations which have been

nine o'clock the general officers withdrew to their quarters, which were all at a considerable distance; but as the General

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wished

propagated by envy, ignorance, or party malevolence, with the view of depreciating his talents. I had particular business to transact with him in 1782, respecting the estates of an old friend to whom he was executor, but which from peculiar circumstances had been totally neglected by the noble heirs in England, from the year 1771, indeed I may say, from the year 1767. I found his Excellency in winter quarters at Philadelphia; on entering into conversation on the subject, which was of *a most complicated nature*, the General modestly apprized me, that from the active and turbulent situation in which he had long been placed, never having been at his own house in Virginia since the year 1775, but one night on his return from York Town, he was ignorant of his own affairs, and was consequently afraid he could afford me but little information respecting those in question: but what was my astonishment, when, after this prelude, he entered into an accurate detail of every thing respecting them, scarcely omitting, as I afterwards found upon the spot, the most minute particular! On my arrival in Virginia, I had an opportunity of perusing, amongst the papers, many of his letters written whilst in the active management of the affairs, which furnished me with unquestionable proofs of the clearness of his head, the honour and dis-

wished me to stay in his own house, I remained some time with him, after which he conducted me to the chamber prepared for my Aides de Camp and me. This chamber occupied the fourth part of his lodgings;

interestedness of his heart, and the uncommon perspicuity and elegance of his style; so as to convince me of the identity of the pen that produced those admirable epistolary performances, which did him so much honour during the war, and will ever mark the energy of his mind, and the excellence of his understanding. I have dwelt with the more satisfaction on this particular, as Envy, unable to detract from their merit, has made frequent attempts to rob his fame of the honour of having ever produced them; and what relates to the public opinion concerning himself he always leaves to the determination of others. This heartfelt, but faithful tribute to transcendent virtue and abilities, is the effusion of a mind unaccustomed to flattery, and in an instance where flattery neither has, *nor can have any object*. I had long revered his character before I saw him, and we all know that too much prepossession is generally unfavourable on a nearer view; but to know *him*, establishes and heightens the most favourable ideas; and I saw, and knew this truly great man, only to root in my mind the most sincere attachment, affection, and veneration for his person and character.

TRANSLATOR.

lodgings; he apologized to me for the little room he had in his disposal, but always with a noble politeness, which was neither complimentary nor troublesome.

At nine the next morning they informed me that his Excellency was come down into the parlour. This room served at once as audience chamber, and dining-room. I immediately went to wait on him, and found breakfast prepared. *Lord Stirling* had come to breakfast with us. He is one of the oldest Major-Generals in the army; his birth, his titles and pretty extensive property have given him more importance in America, than his talents could ever have acquired him. The title of *Lord*, which was refused him in England, is not here contested with him: he claimed this title from inheritance, and went to Europe to support his pretensions, but without success. A part of his estate has been dissipated by the war, and by his taste for expence; he is accused of liking the table and the bottle, full as much as becomes a Lord, but more than becomes a General. He is brave, but without capacity,

city, and has not been fortunate in the different commands with which he has been entrusted. He was made prisoner at the affair of Long Island. In June, 1777, he got into a scrape at Elizabeth Town, whilst General Washington made head against 20,000 English on the heights of Middlebrook; he there lost two or three hundred men, and three pieces of cannon: at Brandywine he commanded the right of the army, or rather the body of troops defeated by *Cornwallis*; but on all these occasions he displayed great personal courage and firmness. I conversed a long time with him, and found him to be a sensible man, not ill informed of the affairs of his country. He is old and rather dull; but with all this he will continue to serve, because the employment, though not lucrative, helps to repair a little the disorder in his affairs; and not having quitted the service since the beginning of the war, he has, at least, zeal and seniority in his favour; thus he will retain the command of the first line, to which his rank entitles him; but care

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will

will be taken not to employ him on particular expeditions.*

Whilst we were at breakfast, horses were brought, and General Washington gave orders for the army to get under arms at the head of the camp. The weather was very bad, and it had already begun raining; we waited half an hour; but the General seeing that it was more likely to increase than to diminish, determined to get on horseback. Two horses were brought him, which were a present from the State of Virginia; he mounted one himself, and gave me the other. Mr. Lynch and Mr. de Montesquieu, had each of them, also, a very handsome blood horse, such as we could not find at Newport for any money. We repaired to the artillery camp, where *General Knox* received us: the artillery was numerous, and the gunners, in very fine order, were formed in parade, in the foreign manner, that is, each gunner at his battery, and ready to fire. The General was so good as to apologize to me for the can-

* Lord Stirling died before the end of the war.

non not firing to salute me; he said, that having put all the troops on the other side of the river in motion, and apprized them that he might himself march along the right bank, he was afraid of giving the alarm, and of deceiving the detachments that were out. We gained, at length, the right of the army, where we saw the Pennsylvania line; it was composed of two brigades, each forming three battalions, without reckoning the light infantry, which were detached with the Marquis de la Fayette. General Waine, who commanded it, was on horseback, as well as the Brigadiers and Colonels. They were all well mounted: the officers also had a very military air; they were well ranged, and saluted very gracefully. Each brigade had a band of music; the march they were then playing was the *Huron*. I knew that this line, though in want of many things, was the best clothed in the army; so that his Excellency asking me whether I would proceed, and see the whole army, or go by the shortest road to the camp of the *Marquis*, I accepted the latter proposal. The
troops

troops ought to thank me for it, for the rain was falling with redoubled force; they were dismissed, therefore, and we arrived heartily wet at the Marquis de la Fayette's quarters, where I warmed myself with great pleasure, partaking, from time to time, of a large bowl of grog, which is stationary on his table, and is presented to every officer who enters. The rain appearing to cease, or inclined to cease for a moment, we availed ourselves of the opportunity to follow his Excellency to the camp of the Marquis: we found all his troops in order of battle on the heights to the left, and himself at their head expressing, by his air and countenance, that he was happier in receiving me there, than at his estate in Auvergne. The confidence and attachment of the troops, are for him invaluable possessions, well acquired riches, of which no body can deprive him; but what, in my opinion, is still more flattering for a young man of his age, is the influence, the consideration he has acquired amongst the political, as well as the military order: I do not fear contradiction when I say, that private letters

ters from him have frequently produced more effect on some states than the strongest exhortations of the Congress. On seeing him, one is at a loss which most to admire, that so young a man as he should have given such eminent proofs of talents, or that a man so tried, should give hopes of so long a career of glory. Fortunate his country, if she knows how to avail herself of them; more fortunate still should she stand in no need of calling them into exertion!

I distinguished, with pleasure, among the colonels, who were extremely well mounted, and who saluted with great grace, *M. de Gimat*, a French officer, over whom I claim the rights of a sort of military paternity, having brought him up in my regiment from his earliest youth.* This whole vanguard

* *M. de Gimat* made the following campaign at the head of a battalion of light infantry, always under the command of *M. de la Fayette*. At the siege of York, he attacked and carried jointly with Colonel Hamilton, the enemy's redoubt on their left. This attack was made at the same time with that of the Baron de Vio-menil, on the right redoubt, and with the same success. *Mr. Gimat* was wounded in the foot: on his return to Europe, he was made Colonel of the regiment of Martinico.

guard consisted of six battalions, forming two brigades; but there was only one piquet of dragoons or light cavalry, the remainder having marched to the southward with *Colonel Lee*. These dragoons are perfectly well mounted, and do not fear meeting the English dragoons, over whom they have gained several advantages;* but they have never been numerous enough to form a solid and permanent body. The piquet that was kept with the army, served then as an escort to the Provost Marshal, and performed the functions of the *Marechaussee*, until the establishment of a regular one, which was intended.

The rain spared us no more at the camp of the Marquis, than at that of the main army; so that our review being finished, I saw with pleasure General Washington set off in a gallop to regain his quarters. We reached

* The *heroic* Tarleton has experienced that there is some difference between these dragoons and a surprised party of ill-armed infantry and peasants. This gentleman's forte was in the latter species of war; a forced march, a surprise, and a bloody gazette, are the records of his glory. TRANSLATOR.

reached them as soon as the badness of the roads would permit us. At our return we found a good dinner ready, and about twenty guests, among whom were Generals Howe and Sinclair. The repast was in the English fashion, consisting of eight or ten large dishes of butcher's meat, and poultry, with vegetables of several sorts, followed by a second course of pastry, comprised under the two denominations of pies and puddings. After this the cloth was taken off, and apples and a great quantity of nuts were served, which General Washington usually continues eating for two hours, *toasting* and conversing all the time. These nuts are small and dry, and have so hard a shell, (hickory nuts) that they can only be broken by the hammer; they are served half open, and the company are never done picking and eating them. The conversation was calm and agreeable; his Excellency was pleased to enter with me into the particulars of some of the principal operations of the war, but always with a modesty and conciseness, which proved that it was from pure complaisance he mentioned it.

it. About half past seven we rose from table, and immediately the servants came to shorten it, and convert it into a round one; for at dinner it was placed diagonally to give more room. I was surprised at this manœuvre, and asked the reason of it; I was told they were going to lay the cloth for supper. In half an hour I retired to my chamber, fearing lest the General might have business, and that he remained in company only on my account; but at the end of another half hour, I was informed that his Excellency expected me at supper. I returned to the dining-room, protesting against this supper; but the general told me he was accustomed to take something in the evening; that if I would be seated, I should only eat some fruit, and assist in the conversation. I desired nothing better, for there were then no strangers, and nobody remained but the General's family. The supper was composed of three or four light dishes, some fruit, and above all, a great abundance of nuts, which were as well received in the evening as at dinner. The cloth being soon removed, a few bottles of
I good

good claret and Madeira were placed on the table.* Every sensible man will be of my opinion, that being a French officer, under

* On my return from the southward in 1782, I spent a day or two at the American camp at Verplanks Point on the North River, and had the honour of dining with General Washington. I had suffered severely from an ague, which I could not get quit of, though I had taken the exercise of a hard trotting horse, and got thus far to the northward in the month of October. The General observing it, told me he was sure I had not met with a good glass of wine for some time, an article then very rare, but that my disorder must be frightened away; he made me drink three or four of his silver camp cups of excellent Madeira at noon, and recommended to me to take a generous glass of claret after dinner, a prescription by no means repugnant to my feelings, and which I most religiously followed. I mounted my horse next morning, and continued my journey to Massachusetts, without ever experiencing the slightest return of my disorder. The American camp here, presented the most beautiful and picturesque appearance: it extended along the plain, on the neck of land formed by the winding of the Hudson, and had a view of this river to the south; behind it, the lofty mountains, covered with wood, formed the most sublime back-ground that painting can express. In the front of the tents was a regular continued portico, formed by the boughs of trees in verdure, decorated with much taste and fancy; and

under the orders of General Washington, and what is more a good whig, I could not refuse a glass of wine offered me by him; but, I confess, that I had little merit in this complaisance, and that, less accustomed to drink than any body, I accommodated myself very well to the English mode of *toasting*: you have very small glasses, you pour out yourself the quantity of wine you choose, without being pressed to take more, and the toast is only a sort of check in the conversation, to remind each individual that he forms part of the company, and that the whole form only one society. I observed that there was more solemnity in the toasts at dinner: there were several cere-

each officer's tent was distinguished by superior ornaments. Opposite the camp, and on distinct eminences, stood the tents of some of the general officers, over which towered, predominant, that of General Washington. I had seen all the camps in England, from many of which, drawings and engravings have been taken; but this was truly a subject worthy the pencil of the first artist. The French camp, during their stay at Baltimore, was decorated in the same style. At the camp at Verplanks, we distinctly heard the morning and evening gun of the British at Kingsbridge.

TRANSLATOR.

ceremonious ones; the others were suggested by the General, and given out by his Aides de Camp, who performed the honours of the table at dinner; for one of them is every day seated at the bottom of the table, near the General, to serve the company, and distribute the bottles. The toasts in the evening were given by Colonel Hamilton, without order or ceremony. After supper the guests are generally desired to give a *sentiment*; that is to say, a lady to whom they are attached by some sentiment, either of love or friendship, or perhaps from preference only.* This supper, or conversation, commonly lasted from nine to eleven, always free, and always agreeable.

The weather was so bad on the 25th, that it was impossible for me to stir, even to wait on the Generals, to whom M. de la Fayette was to conduct me. I easily consoled myself for this, finding it a great luxury to pass a whole day with General Wash-

* The English reader will see that the Author makes a small mistake here; it being the custom in America, as in England, to give a lady, or a sentiment, or both.

Washington, as if he were at his house in the country, and had nothing to do. The Generals *Glover*, *Huntingdon*, and some others, dined with us, and the Colonels *Stewart* and *Butler*, two officers distinguished in the army. The intelligence received this day occasioned the proposed attack on Staten Island to be laid aside. The foraging party under General Starke had met with the most complete success; the enemy not having thought proper to disturb them, so that they had not stripped the posts in the quarter where it was intended to attack them: besides, that this expedition could only have been a *coup de main*, rendered very difficult by the badness of the roads from the excessive rains. It was determined therefore that the army should march the next day to winter quarters, and that I should continue my route to Philadelphia.

The weather being fair, on the 26th, I got on horseback, after breakfasting with the General. He was so attentive as to give me the horse he rode on, the day of my arrival, which I had greatly commended: I found

him as good as he is handsome; but above all, perfectly well broke, and well trained, having a good mouth, easy in hand, and stopping short in a gallop without bearing the bit. I mention these minute particulars, because it is the General himself who breaks all his own horses; and he is a very excellent and bold horseman, leaping the highest fences, and going extremely quick, without standing upon his stirrups, bearing on the bridle, or letting his horse run wild; circumstances which our young men look upon as so essential a part of English horsemanship, that they would rather break a leg or an arm than renounce them.

My first visit was to General Wayne, where Mr. de la Fayette was waiting to conduct me to the other general officers of the line. We were received by General Huntington, who appeared rather young for the rank of Brigadier-General, which he has held two years: his carriage is cold and reserved, but one is not long in perceiving him to be a man of sense and information; by General Glover, about five and forty, a little man, but active and a good soldier;

by General Howe, who is one of the oldest Majors General, and who enjoys the consideration due to his rank, though, from unfavourable circumstances, he has not been fortunate in war, particularly in Georgia, where he commanded with a very small force, at the time General Prevost took possession of it: he is fond of music, the arts, and pleasure, and has a cultivated mind. I remained a considerable time with him, and saw a very curious *lusus naturæ*, but as hideous as possible. It was a young man of a Dutch family, whose head was become so enormous, that it took the whole nourishment from his body; and his hands and arms were so weak, that he was unable to make use of them. He lies constantly in bed, with his monstrous head supported by a pillow; and as he has long been accustomed to lie on his right side, his right arm is in a state of atrophy: he is not quite an idiot, but he could never learn any thing, and has no more reason than a child of five or six years old, though he is seven and twenty. This extraordinary derangement of the animal œconomy proceeds from a

dropsy, with which he was attacked in his infancy, and which displaced the bones that form the cranium. We know that these bones are joined together by futures, which are soft in the first period of life, and harden and ossify with age. Such an exuberance, so great an afflux of humour in that, which of all the viscera seems to require the most exact proportion, as well in what relates to the life as to the understanding of man, afford stronger proof of the necessity of an equilibrium between the solids and fluids, than the existence of the final causes.

General Knox, whom we had met, and who accompanied us, brought us back to head quarters, through a wood, as the shortest way, and to fall into a road leading to his house, where we wished to pay our compliments to Mrs. Knox. We found her settled in a little farm, where she had passed part of the campaign; for she never quits her husband. A child of six months, and a little girl of three years old, formed a real *family* for the General. As for himself, he is between thirty and forty, very fat,

fat, but very active, and of a gay and amiable character. Previous to the war he was a bookseller at Boston, and used to amuse himself in reading some military books in his shop. Such was the origin and the first knowledge he acquired of the art of war, and of the taste he has had ever since for the profession of arms. From the very first campaign, he was entrusted with the command of the artillery, and it has turned out that it could not have been placed in better hands. It was he whom M. du Coudray endeavoured to supplant, and who had no difficulty in removing him. It was fortunate for M. du Coudray, perhaps, that he was drowned in the *Schuylkill*, rather than to be swallowed up in the intrigues he was engaged in, and which might have been productive of much mischief.*

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* General Knox, who retained until the peace the same situation in the American army, commanded their artillery at the siege of York. One cannot too much admire the intelligence and activity with which he collected from all quarters, transported, disembarked and conveyed to the batteries the train destined for the siege, and which consisted of more than thirty pieces of cannon and mortars of a large bore :
this

On our return to head quarters, we found several General Officers and Colonels, with whom we dined. I had an opportunity of conversing

this artillery was always extremely well served, General Knox never ceasing to direct it, and frequently taking the trouble himself of pointing the mortars. He scarcely ever quitted the batteries; and, when the town surrendered, he stood in need of the same activity and the same resources to remove and transport the enemy's artillery, which consisted of upwards of two hundred *bouches à feu*, with all the ammunition belonging to them. The rank of Major General was the recompense of his services.

It may be observed, that if on this occasion the English were astonished at the justness of the firing, and terrible execution of the French artillery, we were not less so at the extraordinary progress of the American artillery, as well as the capacity and knowledge of a great number of the officers employed in it.

As for General Knox, to praise his military talents only, would be to deprive him of half of the eulogium which he merits: A man of understanding, a well formed man, gay, sincere, and honest; it is impossible to know without esteeming him, or to see without loving him. In the text, it is said that he was a bookseller at Boston before the war: this is not perfectly the truth. He carried on trade in various articles, and according to the American custom, he sold them wholesale and retail. Books, but particularly French books, made part of this commerce, but

conversing more particularly with *General Wayne*; he has served more than any officer of the American army, and his services have been more distinguished, * though he is yet but young. He is sensible, and his conversation is agreeable and animated.— The affair of Stoney Point has gained him much honour in the army; however, he is only a Brigadier General; This arises from the nomination to the superior ranks being vested in the states to whom the troops belong, and that the state of Pennsylvania has not thought proper to make any promotion,

K 4 apparently

but he employed himself more in reading than selling them. Before the revolution he was one of the principal citizens of Boston; at present, he belongs to the whole world by his reputation and his success. Thus have the English, contrary to their intention, added to the ornament of the human species, by awakening talents and virtues where they thought to find nothing but ignorance and weakness.

* This might in some respect be true at the time the Marquis speaks of, but let the southern campaigns be attended to, and justice will be done to the active zeal, the wonderful exertions, the unabating courage of that great officer *General Green*; other exceptions might be made, but this stands conspicuous. TRANSLATOR.

apparently from principles of œconomy. The remainder of the day I dedicated to the enjoyment of General Washington's company, whom I was to quit the next day. He was so good as to point out to me himself my journey, to send on before to prepare me lodgings, and to give me a Colonel to conduct me as far as Trenton. The next morning all the General's baggage was packed up, which did not hinder us from breakfasting, before we parted, he for his winter quarters, and I for my journey to Philadelphia.

Here would be the proper place to give the portrait of General Washington: but what can my testimony add to the idea already formed of him? The continent of North America, from Boston to Charles Town, is a great volume, every page of which presents his eulogium. I know, that having had the opportunity of a near inspection, and of closely observing him, some more particular details may be expected from me; but the strongest characteristic of this respectable man is the perfect union which reigns between the physical and moral

ral qualities which compose the individual, one alone will enable you to judge of all the rest. If you are presented with medals of Cæsar, or Trajan, or Alexander, on examining their features, you will still be led to ask what was their stature, and the form of their persons; but if you discover, in a heap of ruins, the head or the limb of an antique *Apollo*, be not curious about the other parts, but rest assured that they all were conformable to those of a God. Let not this comparison be attributed to enthusiasm! It is not my intention to exaggerate, I wish only to express the impression General Washington has left on my mind; the idea of a perfect whole, that cannot be the produce of enthusiasm, which rather would reject it, since the effect of proportion is to diminish the idea of greatness. Brave without temerity, laborious without ambition, generous without prodigality, noble without pride, virtuous without severity; he seems always to have confined himself within those limits, where the virtues, by clothing themselves in more lively, but more changeable and doubtful colours, may be mistaken

mistaken for faults. *This is the seventh year that he has commanded the army, and that he has obeyed the Congress; more need not be said, especially in America, where they know how to appreciate all the merit contained in this simple fact.* Let it be repeated that Conde was intrepid, Turenne prudent, Eugene adroit, Catinat disinterested. It is not thus that Washington will be characterised. It will be said of him, **AT THE END OF A LONG CIVIL WAR, HE HAD NOTHING WITH WHICH HE COULD REPROACH HIMSELF.** If any thing can be more marvellous than such a character, it is the unanimity of the public suffrages in his favour. Soldier, magistrate, people, all love and admire him; all speak of him in terms of tenderness and veneration. Does there then exist a virtue capable of restraining the injustice of mankind; or are glory and happiness too recently established in America, for Envy to have deigned to pass the seas?

In speaking of this perfect whole of which General Washington furnishes the idea, I have not excluded exterior form. His stature is noble and lofty, he is well made,

made, and exactly proportioned; his physiognomy mild and agreeable, but such as to render it impossible to speak particularly of any of his features, so that in quitting him, you have only the recollection of a fine face. He has neither a grave nor a familiar air, his brow is sometimes marked with thought, but never with inquietude; in inspiring respect, he inspires confidence, and his smile is always the smile of benevolence.*

But above all, it is in the midst of his General Officers, that it is interesting to behold him. General in a republic, he has not

* It is impossible for any man who has had the happiness to approach the General, not to admire the accuracy of this description, and the justness and happiness with which it is developed, or to read it without the strongest emotion. It is here above all, the Translator must apologize for his author; it is not possible to do justice to the original, to feel all its elegance it must be read in the language in which it was written. Posterity, future historians, will be grateful to the Marquis de Chastellux for this exquisite portrait; every feature, and every tint of which will stand the test of the severest scrutiny, and be handed down to distant ages in never-fading colours.

TRANSLATOR.

not the imposing stateliness of a Marechal de France who gives *the order*; a hero in a republic, he excites another sort of respect, which seems to spring from the sole idea, that the safety of each individual is attached to his person. As for the rest, I must observe on this occasion, that the General Officers of the American army have a very military and a very becoming carriage; that even all the officers, whose characters were brought into public view, unite much politeness to a great deal of capacity; that the headquarters of this army, in short, neither present the image of want, nor inexperience. When one sees the battalion of the General's guards encamped within the precincts of his house; nine waggons, destined to carry his baggage, ranged in his court; a great number of grooms taking care of very fine horses belonging to the General Officers and their Aides de Camp; when one observes the perfect order that reigns within these precincts, where the guards are exactly stationed, and where the drums beat an alarm, and a particular retreat, one is tempted to apply to the Americans what Pyrrhus said

said of the Romans: *Truly these people have nothing barbarous in their discipline!*

The reader will perceive that it is difficult for me to quit General Washington: let us take our resolution briskly then, and suppose ourselves on the road. Behold me travelling with *Colonel Moyland*, whom his Excellency had given me, in spite of myself, as a companion, and whom I should have been glad to have seen at a distance, for one cannot be too much at one's ease in travelling. In such situations, however, we must do the best we can. I began to question him, he to answer me, and the conversation gradually becoming more interesting, I found I had to do with a very gallant and intelligent man, who had lived long in Europe, and who has travelled through the greatest part of America. I found him perfectly polite; for his politeness was not troublesome, and I soon conceived a great friendship for him. Mr. Moyland is an Irish Catholic; one of his brothers is Catholic Bishop of *Cork*; he has four others, two of whom are merchants, one at Cadiz, the other at L'Orient; the third is in Ireland with

with his family ; and the fourth is intended for the priesthood.* As for himself, he came to settle in America some years ago, where

* I was acquainted with four brothers of this family ; they were all amiable, sensible, and lively men, and remarkably active and useful in the revolution. The Colonel, in the military line ; and another brother, whom I *suppose* to have been the merchant at Cadiz, was afterwards in America, and clothier general to the army ; another is a lawyer at Philadelphia, and Mr. Moyland, who is lately dead at L'Orient, was singularly useful in the year 1777, by managing a treaty between the American Commissioners and the Farmers General of France, for an annual supply of tobacco from America, which he concluded, during Lord Stormont's residence at the Court of France, and many month's previous to the open rupture with that Court. I speak of this with personal knowledge of the fact, nor was it so secret as to have escaped the English Ambassador, or the vigilant Mr. Forth. There could not be a more direct attack on England, and English claims, than this transaction, which *must* have had the sanction of the French Government, yet England was lulled to sleep by her Ministers, or rather was so infatuated as to shut her ears against the most interesting truths. I could say much more on this subject, but why enter into discussions which have long ceased to be either seasonable or useful ? England was, literally, in the case of the *Quos Deus vult perdere*. TRANSLATOR.

where he was at first engaged in commerce ; he then served in the army as Aide de Camp to the General, and has merited the command of the light cavalry. During the war he married the daughter of a rich merchant in the Jerseys, who lived formerly at New York, and who now resides on an estate at a little distance from the road we were to pass the next day. He proposed to me to go and sleep there, or at least to take a dinner ; I begged to be excused, from the fear of being obliged to pay compliments, of straightening others, or of being myself straightened ; he did not insist, so that I pursued my journey, sometimes through fine woods, at others through well cultivated lands, and villages inhabited by Dutch families. One of these villages, which forms a little township, bears the beautiful name of *Troy*. Here the country is more open and continues so to *Morris-Town*. This town, celebrated by the winter quarters of 1779, is about three and twenty miles from *Prakeness*, the name of the head quarters from whence I came : It is situated on a height, at the foot of which runs the
rivulet

rivulet called *Vipenny River*; the houses are handsome and well built; there are about 60 or 80 round the Meeting-house. I intended stopping at Morris-Town only to bate my horses, for it was but half past two, but on entering the inn of Mr. *Arnold*, I saw a dining-room adorned with looking glasses and handsome mahogany furniture, and a table spread for twelve persons. I learnt that all this preparation was for me; and what affected me more nearly, was to see a dinner, corresponding with these appearances, ready to serve up. I was indebted for this to the goodness of General Washington, and the precautions of Colonel Moyland, who had sent before to acquaint them with my arrival. It would have been very ungracious to have accepted this dinner at the expence of Mr. *Arnold*, who is an honest man and a good whig, and who has not a particle in common with *Benedict Arnold*; it would have been still more awkward to have paid for the banquet without eating it. I therefore instantly determined to dine and sleep in this comfortable inn. The Vicomte de Noailles, the Comte de Damas, &c. were expected

expected to make up the dozen; but these young travellers, who had reckoned during their stay with the army, on being witnesses to some encounters, were desirous of indemnifying themselves by riding along the bank of the river, to take a look at York Island, and try if they could not tempt the enemy to favour them with a few shot. M. de la Fayette himself conducted them, with an escort of twenty dragoons. They deferred for a day therefore their journey to Philadelphia, and I had no other guests but a Secretary and Aide de Camp of M. de la Fayette, who arrived as I was at table, well disposed to supply the deficiency of the absent.

After dinner I had a visit from General *St. Clair*, whom I had already seen at the army, which he had left the preceding evening to sleep at Morris-Town. It was he who commanded on Lake *Champlain*, at the evacuation of *Ticonderoga*: a terrible clamour was raised against him on that occasion, and he was tried by a council of war, but *honourably acquitted*,* not only because

VOL. I. L his

* The terms of his acquittal are—*with the highest honour.*

his retreat was attended with the best consequences; Burgoyne having been forced to capitulate; but because it was proved that he had been left in want of every thing necessary for the defence of the post entrusted to him. He was born in Scotland, where he has still a family and property; he is esteemed a good officer, and, if the war continues, will certainly act a principal part in the army.*

I set out from Morris-Town the 28th, at eight in the morning, with very lowering weather, which did not hinder me, however, from observing, to the right of the road, the huts occupied by the troops in the winter of 1779—80. Some miles from thence, we met a man on horseback, who came to meet Colonel Moyland with a letter from his wife. After reading it, he said to me, with a truly European politeness, that we must always obey the women;

* General Sinclair's defence on this trial, which was lent me by Mr. Arthur Middleton, one of the Delegates in Congress for South Carolina, is an admirable piece of reasoning and eloquence.

TRANSLATOR.

men; that his wife would accept of no excuse, and expected me to dinner; but he assured me that he would take me by a road which should not be a mile out of my way, whilst my people pursued their journey, and went to wait for me at *Somerset Court-house*. I was now too well acquainted with my Colonel, and too much pleased with him, to refuse this invitation; I followed him, therefore, and after crossing a wood, found myself on a height, the position of which struck me at first sight. I remarked to Colonel Moyland, that I was much mistaken if this ground was not well calculated for an advantageous camp: he replied, that it was precisely that of *Middlebrook*, where General Washington had stopped the English in June, 1777, when Sir William Howe was endeavouring to traverse the Jerseys to pass the Delaware, and take *Philadelphia*. Continuing my journey, and looking about me as far as my view would reach, the shape alone of the ground made me imagine, that the right could not be very good; I then learnt with pleasure that General Washington had built

two strong redoubts there. The reader will permit me the following short reflection, that the best method for military men, in following on the ground, the campaigns of great Generals, is not to have the different positions pointed out and explained to them : it is much better, before they are made acquainted with these details, to visit the places, to look well about on every side, and to propose to themselves some problems on the nature of the ground, and on the advantages to be derived from it ; then to compare ideas with facts, by which means they will be enabled to rectify one, and to appreciate the other.

On descending from the heights, we turned a little to the left, and found ourselves on the side of a rivulet, which brought us into a deep vale. The various cascades formed by this stream, in precipitating itself over the rocks ; the ancient fir-trees with which it is surrounded, a part of which have fallen from age, and lie across its course ; the furnaces belonging to some copper mines, half destroyed by the English ; these ruins of nature, and these ravages

vages of war, composed the most poetic, or according to the English expression, the most romantic picture; for it is precisely what is called in England *a romantic prospect*. It is here that Colonel Moyland's father-in-law has fitted up a little rural asylum, where his family go to avoid the heats of the summer, and where they sometimes pass whole nights in listening to the song of the *mocking bird*, for the nightingale does not sing in America. We know that great musicians are oftener to be met with in the courts of despots, than in republics. Here the songster of the night is neither the graceful *Melico*, nor the pathetic *Tenducci*; he is the *Bouffon Caribaldi*: he has no song, and consequently no sentiment peculiar to himself: he counterfeits in the evening what he has heard in the day. Has he heard the lark or the thrush, it is the lark or the thrush you hear. Have some workmen been employed in the woods, or has he been near their house, he will sing precisely as they do. If they are Scotchmen, he will repeat you the air of some gentle and plaintive

tale; if they are Germans, you will discover the clumsy gaiety of a Swabian, or Alsatian. Sometimes he cries like a child, at others he laughs like a young girl: nothing, in short, is more entertaining than this comic bird; but he performs only in summer, and so it happened that I never had the good fortune to hear him.*

After travelling two miles in this sort of gorge, the woods begin to open, and we soon found ourselves beyond the mountains. On the brow of these mountains, to the south, were the huts occupied by a part of the army in 1779, after the battle of *Monmouth*. We soon arrived at Colonel Moyland's, or rather at Colonel Vanhorn's, his father-in-law. This manor is in a beautiful situation; it is surrounded by some trees, the approach is decorated with a grass plot, and if it was better taken care of, one would think ones-self in the neighbourhood of London, rather than in that of New York. Mr. Vanhorn came to

* The Translator, as well as most travellers in America, particularly in the middle states, can testify the accuracy of this account.

to meet me: he is a tall, lusty man, near sixty years of age, but vigorous, hearty, and good humoured; he is called Colonel from the station he held in the militia, under the English government. He resigned some time before the war: he was then a merchant and cultivator, passing the winter at New York, and the summer in the country; but since the war he has quitted that town, and retired to his manor, always faithful to his country, without rendering himself odious to the English, with whom he has left two of his sons in the Jamaica trade, but who, if the war continues, are to sell their property and come and live with their father. Nothing can prove more strongly the integrity of his conduct, than the esteem in which he is held by both parties. Situated at ten miles from Staten Island, near to *Rariton*, *Amboy*, and *Brunswick*, he has frequently found himself in the midst of the theatre of war; so that he has sometimes had the Americans with him, sometimes the English. It even happened to him once in the same day, to give a breakfast to Lord Cornwallis

and a dinner to General *Lincoln*. Lord Cornwallis, informed that the latter had slept at Mr. Vanhorn's, came to take him by surprise; but Lincoln, getting intelligence of his design, retired into the woods. Lord Cornwallis, astonished not to find him, asked if the American General was not concealed in his house: "No," replied Mr. Vanhorn, bluntly. "On your honour?" says Cornwallis. "On my honour, and if you doubt it, here are the keys, you may search every where." "I shall take your word for it," said Lord Cornwallis, and asked for some breakfast; an hour afterwards he returned to the army. Lincoln, who was concealed at no great distance, immediately returned, and dined quietly with his hosts.

The acquaintance I made with Mr. Vanhorn being very prompt and cordial, he conducted me to the parlour, where I found his wife, his three daughters, a young lady of the neighbourhood, and two young officers. Mrs. Vanhorn is an old lady, who, from her countenance, her dress, and her de-

deportment, perfectly resembled a picture of Vandyke. She does the honours of the table with exactness, helps every body without saying a word, and the rest of the time is like a family portrait. Her three daughters are not amiss: Mrs. Moyland, the eldest, is six months advanced in her pregnancy; the youngest only twelve years old, but the second is marriageable. She appeared to be on terms of great familiarity with one of the young officers, who was in a very elegant undress, forming a good representation of an agreeable country squire; at table he picked her nuts for her, and often took her hands. I imagined that he was an intended husband; but the other officer, with whom I had the opportunity of conversing as he accompanied us in the evening, told me that he did not believe there was any idea of marriage between them. I mention these trifles only to shew the extreme liberty that prevails between the two sexes, as long as they are unmarried. It is no crime for a girl to embrace a young man; it would be a very heinous one for a married woman even to shew

shew a desire of pleasing.* Mrs. Carter,† a handsome young woman, whose husband is

* Though this freedom prevails amongst all ranks, it is particularly striking amongst the middling classes and common people. Not to speak of the New England *bundling*, a practice which has been so often mentioned, the Translator has seen a grave Quaker and his wife sitting on their bench at their door, as is the custom at Philadelphia in the summer evenings, and along side of them the 'prentice boy of sixteen, and the servant girl, or perhaps one of the daughters of the family, not only kissing and embracing each other, but proceeding to such familiarities as would shock modesty, and draw down the vengeance of the virtuous citizen of London; and all this, not only without reprehension, but even with marks of complacency on the part of the good old folks. Even the *last slip*, is no essential blemish in the character of the frail-fair one. Both sexes arrive early at puberty, their constitutions are warm, there are few restraints, and they lose no time in completing the great object, the population of the country.

TRANSLATOR.

† Mrs. Carter is the daughter of General Schuyler, and is now called *Church*; her husband, Mr. John Barker Church, having re-assumed his real name on his return to England since the peace. He is an English gentleman of a very respectable family and connections; but having been unfortunate in business in London, in the outset of life, retired to America, where, from his known principles, he was received

is concerned in furnishing our army with provisions, and lives at present at Newport, told me, that going down one morning into her husband's office, not much decked out, but in a rather elegant French undress, a farmer of the Massachusset's State, who was there on business, seemed surpris'd at seeing her, and asked who that young lady was. On being told, Mrs. Carter—"Aye!" said he, loud enough for her to hear him, "*A wife and a mother, truly, has no business to be so well dressed.*"

At three o'clock I got on horseback, with Colonel Moyland, and Captain Herne, one of the young officers I had dined with. He is in the light cavalry, and consequently

ceived as a good whig. He took the name of *Carter*, that his friends might hear nothing of him, until by his industry he had retrieved his affairs. His activity in the revolution, brought him acquainted with General Schuyler, whose daughter he soon after married; and on the arrival of the French troops, got a principal share of the contract for supplying them, in conjunction with Col. Wadsworth. Since the war he has returned to Europe, with a very considerable fortune, settled all his affairs, and is happily and honourably restored to his friends and family.

TRANSLATOR.

quently in Colonel Moyland's regiment. His size and figure, which I had already remarked, appeared to still more advantage on horseback. I observed that he was seated in a very noble and easy manner, and in perfect conformity to our principles of horsemanship. I asked him where he had studied horsemanship, he told me at his own regiment; that his desire to teach the soldiers induced him to learn it; and that he made it his business to render them as expert in the exercise as himself. Though but one and twenty, he had already acquired great experience, and distinguished himself the preceding year, in an affair, where a small body of American light horse beat a much more considerable one of English dragoons. I had a long conversation with him, and he always spoke to me with a modesty, and a grace which would be favourably received by all the military in Europe, and which, to all appearance, would be as successful at Paris as in camps.

We had scarcely proceeded three miles, before we found ourselves in the Prince-Town

Town road, and on the banks of the Rariton, which may be easily passed by fording, or over a wooden bridge. Two miles farther we crossed the *Millstone*, the left bank of which we followed to Somerset Court-house. Of all the parts of America I had hitherto passed through, this is the most open; we meet with handsome little plains here, where from fifteen to twenty thousand men might be encamped. General Howe had not less when he passed the Rariton in 1777. His right was supported by a wood, beyond which runs the *Millstone*; his left also extended towards other woods. General Washington at that time occupied the camp at Middlebrook, and General *Sullivan*, at the head of only 1500 men, was six miles from the army, and three miles from the left of the enemy. In this position he was near enough to harass them, without committing himself, as he had in his rear the mountains of *Saourland*. They who, in the last war, have passed through *Saourland*, will easily conceive that the country to which the German emigrants have given this name,
is

is not very easy of access. I found my suite at Somerset Court-house, where they were waiting for me in a pretty good inn, but as there was still some daylight, and I had calculated my next day's journey, which required that I should gain something in the present, I determined to proceed further. The night, which soon came on, prevented me from making any more observations on the country. After once more passing the Millstone, and getting well out of a horrible flough, we halted at *Gregg-Town*, where we slept at Skilman's tavern, an indifferent inn, but kept by very obliging people. Captain Herne continued his route. Our next day's ride presented us with very interesting objects: we were to see two places which will be for ever dear to the Americans, since it was there the first rays of hope brightened upon them, or, to express it more properly, that the safety of the country was effected. These celebrated places are *Prince-Town*, and *Trenton*. I shall not say I went to see them, for they lay precisely in the road. Let the reader judge then how much I was
out

out of humour, on seeing so thick a fog rising, as to prevent me from distinguishing objects at fifty paces from me; but I was in a country where one must despair of nothing. The fortune of the day was like that of America: the fog suddenly dispersed, and I found myself travelling on the right bank of the Millstone, in a narrow valley. Two miles from Gregg-Town we quit this valley, and mount the highest of *Rockey-Hill*, where are a few houses. *King's-Town* is a mile farther, but still on the Millstone; the *Maidenhead* road ends here, and its communication is facilitated by a bridge built over the rivulet. It is here that General Washington halted after the affair of Prince-Town. After marching from midnight until two o'clock in the afternoon, almost continually fighting; he wished to collect the troops, and give them some rest; he knew, however, that Lord Cornwallis was following him on the Maidenhead road; but he contented himself with taking up some planks of the bridge, and as soon as he saw the vanguard of the English appear, he continued his march quietly towards Middlebrook. Beyond
3 King's-

King's-Town, the country begins to open, and continues so to Prince-Town. This town is situated on a sort of platform not much elevated, but which commands on all sides: it has only one street formed by the high road; there are about sixty or eighty houses, all tolerably well built, but little attention is paid them, for that is immediately attracted by an immense building, which is visible at a considerable distance. It is a college built by the state of Jersey some years before the war; as this building is only remarkable from its size, it is unnecessary to describe it; the reader will only recollect, when I come to speak of the engagement, that it is on the left of the road in going to Philadelphia, that it is situated towards the middle of the town, on a distinct spot of ground, and that the entrance to it is by a large square court surrounded with lofty palisades. The object which excited my curiosity, though very foreign from letters at that moment, brought me to the very gate of the college. I dismounted for a moment to visit this vast edifice, and was soon joined by Dr. *Witherspoon*, President of the university.

He

He is a man of at least sixty, is a member of Congress, and much respected in this country. In accosting me he spoke French, but I easily perceived that he had acquired his knowledge of that language, from reading, rather than conversation; which did not prevent me, however, from answering him, and continuing to converse with him in French, for I saw that he was well pleased to display what he knew of it. This is an attention which costs little, and is too much neglected in a foreign country. To reply in English to a person who speaks French to you, is to tell him you do not know my language so well as I do yours: in this, too, one is not unfrequently mistaken. As for me, I always like better to have the advantage on my side, and to fight on my own ground. I conversed in French, therefore, with the President, and from him I learnt that this college is a complete university; that it can contain two hundred students, and more, including the out-boarders: that the distribution of the studies is formed so as to make only one class for the *humanities*; which cor-

responds with our first four classes; that two others are destined to the perfecting the youth in the study of Latin and Greek; a fourth to natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Astronomy, &c. and a fifth to moral Philosophy. Parents may support their children at this college at the annual expence of forty guineas. Half of this sum is appropriated to lodgings and masters; the rest is sufficient for living, either in the college, or at board in private houses in the town. This useful establishment has fallen into decay since the war; there were only forty students when I saw it. A handsome collection of books had been made; the greatest part of which has been embezzled. The English even carried off from the chapel the portrait of the King of England, a loss for which the Americans easily consoled themselves, declaring they would have no King amongst them, not even a painted one. There still remains a very beautiful astronomical machine; but as it was then out of order, and differs in no respect from that I saw afterwards in Philadelphia, I shall take no notice

tice of it.* I confess also that I was rather anxious to examine the traces of General Washington, in a country where every object reminded me of his successes. I passed rapidly therefore from Parnassus to the field of Mars, and from the hands of President Witherspoon † into those of
M 2 Colonel

* This is the celebrated *Orrery of Rittenhouse*, the supposed destruction of which made so much noise at the beginning of the civil war, and sullied the English name in the eyes of all enlightened Europe. Justice, however, requires from the Translator to declare, that from his inquiries, and examination on the spot, the report had no other foundation than, that they intended to remove, and send it as a present to the King. It may possibly be said, and would to God that such a conjecture were not too well warranted by the whole conduct of the war, that to this motive only may be attributed its preservation; however that may be, their sudden dislodgment from Prince-Town preserved the Orrery, and, as far as that goes, the national character.

TRANSLATOR.

† This gentleman is so well known in Europe as to render it unnecessary to enter into any particulars respecting him. He certainly played a much more important part on the theatre of this grand revolution, than by heading the low church party, as it is called in Scotland, and displaying his eloquence, as I have seen him, at presbyteries and synods. TRANSLATOR.

Colonel Moyland. They were both equally upon their own ground; so that while one was pulling me by the right arm, telling me, Here is the philosophy class; the other was plucking me by the left, to shew me where one hundred and eighty English laid down their arms.

Every person who, since the commencement of the war, has only given himself the trouble of reading the Gazettes, may recollect that General Washington surprised the town of Trenton the 25th of December, 1776; that, immediately after this expedition, he retired to the other side of the Delaware, but that having received a small addition to his force, he repassed the river a second time, and encamped at Trenton. Lord Cornwallis had now collected his troops, before dispersed, in winter quarters. He marched against Washington, who was obliged to place the *Assampik*, or river of Trenton, between the enemy and him. By this means the town was divided between the two armies; the Americans occupying the left bank of the creek, and the English the right.

right. Lord Cornwallis's army was receiving hourly reinforcements; two brigades from Brunswick were expected to join him, and he only waited their arrival to make the attack.* General Washington, on the other hand, was destitute of provisions, and cut off from all communications with the fertile country of the Jerseys, and the four eastern states. Such was his position, when, on the second of January, at one o'clock in the morning, he ordered the fires to be well kept up, and some soldiers to be left to take care of them, whilst the remainder of the army should march by the right, to fall back afterwards on the left, pass the rear of the English army, and enter the Jerseys. It was neces-

M 3 sary

* Lord Cornwallis made one or two attempts to force the small stone bridge over the creek at Trenton, but was so galled by a small battery which commanded it, and a body of chosen men, placed by General Washington in the Mill-house, that he gave up the attempt, from a contempt of his enemy; looking upon them as his certain prey, their retreat over the Delaware, then full of ice, being impracticable; for the same reason, probably, he made no attempt to cross the creek in any other part.

TRANSLATOR.

fary to throw themselves considerably to the right, in order to reach *Allens-Town*, and the sources of the *Assampik*, and then to fall on *Prince-Town*. About a mile from this town, General Washington's vanguard, on entering the main road, fell in with Colonel *Mawhood*, who was marching quietly at the head of his regiment in his way to *Maidenhead*, and thence to *Trenton*. General *Mercer* immediately attacked him, but was repulsed by the enemy's fire; he then attempted to charge with bayonet, but unfortunately, in leaping a ditch, was surrounded and put to the sword by the English. The troops, who were in general militia, discouraged by the loss of their commander, retreated into the woods, to wait for the remainder of the army, which arrived soon after: but Colonel *Mawhood* had continued his route to *Maidenhead*, so that General Washington had only to do with the forty-eighth regiment, part of which had appeared upon the main road on the first alarm of the attack. He pushed these troops vigorously, dispersed them, and made fifty or sixty

sixty prisoners. General Sullivan, however, was advancing rapidly, leaving on his left the Prince-Town road, with the design of turning that town, and of cutting off the retreat of the troops, who occupied it, to Brunswick. Two hundred English had thrown themselves into a wood by which he was to pass, but they did not long hold it, and returned in disorder to *Nassau-hall*, the name of the college I have been speaking of. This they ought to have taken possession of, and have there made a vigorous defence. To all appearance their officers were bewildered, for instead of entering the house, or even the court, they remained in a sort of wide street, where they were surrounded and obliged to lay down their arms, to the number of one hundred and eighty, not including fourteen officers. As for General Washington, after taking or dispersing every thing before him, he collected his troops, marched on to King's-Town, where he halted, as I have already mentioned, and continued his route towards Middlebrook; having thus marched near thirty miles in

one day, but still regretting that his troops were too much fatigued to proceed to Brunswick, which he could have taken without any difficulty. Lord Cornwallis had now nothing left but to hasten thither as fast as possible with his whole army. From this moment, Pennsylvania was in safety, the Jerseys were evacuated, and the English reduced to the towns of Brunswick and Amboy, where they were obliged to act always on the defensive, not being able to stir, nor even to forage, without being driven back, and roughly handled by the militia of the country. Thus we see that the great events of war are not always great battles, and humanity may receive some consolation from this sole reflection, that the art of war is not necessarily a sanguinary art, that the talents of the commanders spare the lives of the soldiers, and that ignorance alone is prodigal of blood.

The affair of Trenton, whence this originated, cost no dearer, and was perhaps more glorious, without being more useful.

Addison said, in visiting the different monuments

ments of Italy, that he imagined himself treading on *classic* ground; all my steps were on martial ground, and I was in the same morning to see two fields of battle. I arrived early at Trenton, having remarked nothing interesting on the road, unless it be the beauty of the country, which every where corresponds with the reputation of the Jerseys, called the garden of America. On approaching Trenton, the road descends a little, and permits one to see at the east end of the town the orchard where the Hessians hastily collected, and surrendered prisoners. This is almost all that can be said of this affair, which has been amplified by the Gazettes on one side and the other. We know that General Washington, at the head only of three thousand men, passed the Delaware in dreadful weather, on the night of the 24th and 25th of December; that he divided his troops into two columns, one of which made a circuit to gain a road upon the left, leading to the Maidenhead-road, whilst the other marched along the river, straight to Trenton; that the main guard of the Hessians was surprised, and

and that the brigade had scarcely time to get under arms. The park of artillery was near a church; they were attempting to harness the horses, when the American vanguard, which had forced the piquet, fired on, and killed almost all of them. General Washington arrives with the right column; the Hessians were surrounded, and fired a few random shot, without order. General Washington suffered them to do so, but he availed himself of the first moment of the slackening of their fire, to send an officer who spoke French to them, for our language supplies the want of all others. The Hessians hearkened very willingly to his proposal. The General promised that the effects they had left in their houses should not be pillaged, and they soon laid down their arms, which they had scarcely had time to take up. Their position was certainly not a good one; nor can I conceive it possible that this could be a field of battle fixed upon in case of an alarm. They would have had a sure retreat by passing the bridge over the creek at the south end of the town, but the vanguard of the right column had got possession

bro. I

possession of it. Such, in a few words, was this event, which is neither honourable nor dishonourable for the Hessians; but which proves that no troops existing can be reckoned on, when they suffer themselves to be surprised.

After viewing so many battles, it was but right to think of dinner. I found my head quarters well established in a good inn kept by *Mr. Williams*. The sign of this inn is a philosophical, or, if you will, a political emblem. It represents a beaver at work, with his little teeth, to bring down a large tree, and underneath is written, *perseverando*. I had scarce alighted from my horse, before I received a visit from *Mr. Livingston*, * Governor of the Jerseys. He is an old man much respected, and who passes for a very sensible man. He was pleased

* This gentleman was so active and useful in the revolution, that he was long the marked object of tory vengeance; he was obliged, for many months, to shift his quarters every day, and under the necessity of sleeping every night in a different place; but nothing could abate his zeal; he never quitted his government, and was indefatigable in his exertions to animate the people. TRANSLATOR.

pleased to accompany me in a little walk I took before dinner, to examine the environs of the town, and see the camp occupied by the Americans before the affair of Princeton. I returned to dinner with Colonel Moyland, Mr. de Gimat, and two Aides de Camp of M. de la Fayette, who arrived some time before me. We were all acquainted, very happy to meet together and to dine at our ease, when a Justice of the Peace, who was at Trenton on business, and a Captain of the American artillery, came and set down to table with us, without any ceremony; it being the custom of the country for travellers when they meet at the hour of dinner, to dine together. The dinner, of which I did the honours, was excellent; but they did not seem to know that it was I who had ordered it. There was wine at table, a very rare and dear article in America; they drank moderately of it, and rose from table before us. I had given orders that the dinner should be charged to me; they learnt this on going out, but set off without saying a word to me on the subject. I have often had occasion to observe, that there

there is more of ceremony than compliment in America. All their politeness is mere form, such as drinking healths to the company, observing ranks, giving up the right hand, &c. But they do nothing of this but what has been taught them, not a particle of it is the result of sentiment; in a word, politeness here is like religion in Italy, every thing in practice, but without any principle.

At four o'clock I set out, after separating, but not without regret, from the good Colonel Moyland. I took the road to Bristol, crossing the river three miles below Trenton. Six miles from thence you pass a wood: and then approach the Delaware, which you do not quit till you arrive at Bristol. It was night when I got to this town. The inn I alighted at is kept by a Mr. *Benezet*, of French extraction, and of a very respectable *Quaker* family; but he is a deserter from their communion. He is of the church of England, and has retained none of the acknowledged principles of his brethren, except that of making you pay dearer than other people: in other respects his inn is handsome,

handsome, the windows look upon the Delaware, and the view from them is superb; for this river is nearly a mile broad, and flows through a very delightful country.*

I left Bristol the 30th of November, between nine and ten in the morning, and arrived at Philadelphia at two. The road leading to this city is very wide and handsome; one passes through several small towns or villages, nor can one go five hundred paces without seeing beautiful country houses. As you advance you find a richer and better cultivated country, with a great number of orchards and pastures; every thing, in short, answers the neighbourhood of a large town, and this road is not unlike those round London. Four miles

* This landlord, like his brethren at Richmond and Shooter's-hill, makes his guests pay for the prospect, and he has the same temptations; the ride from Philadelphia here on parties of pleasure being very common in summer, and the situation of his house on the great road to the Jerseys, and the northward, always ensuring him a number of travellers.

TRANSLATOR.

miles from Bristol you pass the creek of *Neshaminy* over a ferry. It is pretty large, and runs in such a direction as to form a sort of peninsula of the country between it and the Delaware. It had struck me from the view of the country, and from inspecting the chart, that on the retreat of Clinton, General Washington might have passed the sources of this river, and marched along it towards the Delaware. It would have covered his right flank, and, by this precaution, he would have been at liberty to have approached the Delaware, and to have crossed it as soon as Clinton. Mr. de Gimat, to whom I made this observation, answered me, that General Washington never being sure of the moment when the English would evacuate Philadelphia, was afraid of quitting Lancaster, where he had all his magazines. The town of *Frankfort*, which is about fifteen miles from Bristol, and five from Philadelphia, is pretty considerable. A creek runs in the front of this town, over which are two stone bridges; for it divides itself into two branches, one of which appeared to me to be artificial,

artificial, and destined to turn a great number of mills, that furnish Philadelphia with flour. These mills, so necessary for the subsistence of the two armies, made the town of Frankfort for a long time an object of contention, which brought on several skirmishes; but the position is such as to be advantageous to neither party, for the river runs in a bottom, and the ground is of an equal elevation on both sides.

The nearer you approach to Philadelphia, the more you discover the traces of the war. The ruins of houses destroyed, or burnt, are the monuments the English have left behind them; but these ruins present only the image of a transient misfortune, and not that of long adversity. By the side of these ruined edifices, those which still exist proclaim prosperity and abundance. You imagine you see the country after a storm, some trees are overthrown, but the others are still clothed with flowers and verdure. Before you enter Philadelphia, you traverse the lines thrown up by the English in the winter of 1777-8; they are still discoverable in many places.

The

The part of the lines I now saw, is that of the right, the flank of which is supported by a large redoubt, or square battery, which commands also the river. Some parts of the parapet have been constructed with an elegance which increases labour, more than it fortifies the work: they are made in the form of a *saw*, that is to say, composed of a series of small *redans*, each of which is capable only of containing three men. As soon as I had passed these lines my eye was struck with several large buildings; the two principal were a range of barracks constructed by the English, and a large hospital lately built at the expence of the Quakers. Insensibly I found myself in the town, and after following three or four very wide streets, perfectly straight, I arrived at the gate of M. le Chevalier de la Luzerne.

It was just twenty days since I left Newport, during which time I had only stayed one at Voluntown, and three at the American army. I was not sorry therefore to get into quarters of refreshment, and could not desire any more agreeable than the house of the Chevalier de la Luzerne. I

had a great deal of time to converse with him before dinner; for at Philadelphia, as in London, it is the custom to dine at five, and frequently at six. I should have liked it as well had the company been not so numerous, as to oblige me to make acquaintance with a part of the town; but our minister maintains a considerable state, and gives frequently great dinners, so that it is difficult not to fall into this sort of ambuscade. The guests, whose names I recollect, were Mr. *Governor Morris*,* a young man full of wit and vivacity, but unfortunately maimed, having lost a leg by accident. His friends congratulated him on this event, saying that now he would wholly dedicate himself to public business. Mr. *Powel*, a man of considerable fortune, without

* This gentleman lost his leg by a fall from a phaeton. He is a man of exquisite wit, and an excellent understanding. An admirable companion at the table, and the toilet, he was in universal request; he was in all the secrets of his namesake the financier, and refined in the dark history of political intrigue. Notwithstanding his misfortune, Nature did not form him for inactivity. TRANSLATOR.

without taking any part in the government, his attachment to the common cause having appeared hitherto rather equivocal. Mr. *Pendleton*, Chief Justice of South Carolina, a remarkably tall man, with a very distinguished countenance; he had the courage to hang three tories at Charles-Town, a few days before the surrender of the town, and was accordingly in great danger of losing his life, had he not escaped out of the hands of the English, though comprised in the capitulation. Colonel *Laurens*, son of Mr. Laurens, late President of Congress, and now a prisoner in the Tower of London; he speaks very good French, which is not surprising, as he was educated at Geneva; but it is to his honour, that being married in London, he should quit England to serve America; he has distinguished himself on several occasions, particularly at *German-Town* where he was wounded.* Mr. *White*,† Chap-

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lain

* Among the numerous traits that might be cited to do honour to this illustrious young man, so prematurely, and unfortunately lost to his family and his country, the

lain to Congress, a handsome man, and
of a mild and tolerant character. General
Mifflin,

Translator has selected the following; *extracted from the
Journals of Congress.*—

Thursday, November 5, 1778.

Resolved,

“That John Laurens, Esq. Aide de Camp to General Washington, be presented with a continental commission of Lieutenant Colonel, in testimony of the sense which Congress entertain of his patriotic and spirited services as a volunteer in the American army, and of his brave conduct in several actions, particularly in that of Rhode Island on the 29th of August last; and that General Washington be directed, whenever an opportunity shall offer, to give Lieutenant Colonel Laurens command agreeable to his rank.”

Friday, November 6, 1778.

“A letter of this day from Lieutenant Colonel John Laurens was read, expressing “his gratitude for the unexpected honour which Congress “were pleased to confer on him by the resolutions “passed yesterday, and the high satisfaction it would “have afforded him, could he have accepted it “without injuring the rights of the officers in “the line of the army, and doing an evident injustice to his colleagues in the family of the “commander in chief: that having been a spectator of the convulsions occasioned in the army “by disputes of rank, he holds the tranquillity of it

Missin,† whose talents have shone alike
in war and politics; he has been Quarter-
N 3 Master-

“too dear to be instrumental in disturbing it; and there-
“fore entreating Congress to suppress the Resolve of
“yesterday, ordering him a Commission of Lieutenant
“Colonel; and to accept his sincere thanks for the
intended honour.” Whereupon

Resolved, That Congress highly approve the disinter-
ested and patriotic principles upon which Lieutenant
Colonel Laurens has declined to accept the promotion
conferred on him by Congress.”

TRANSLATOR.

† Mr. White is the Clergyman of St. Peter's church,
and brother to Mrs. Morris, the financier's lady.

TRANSLATOR.

† I had the happiness of enjoying the particular
acquaintance of the General. He is a smart, sensible,
active, and agreeable little man. I never saw him
without thinking of *Garrick*; he is about the
same size and figure, and his countenance sparkles
with significance and expression. To him and his
brother I am indebted for the most hospitable re-
ception, and continued civilities and attention;
and the General, besides shewing me on the spot,
the whole manœuvres of German-Town, and the
proceedings on the Marquis de la Fayette's expedi-
tion over the Schuylkill, furnished me with many
interesting particulars respecting the conduct of the
war. I knew there was a disgust, and the cause of
it, but all his narratives seemed to be those of a man
of honour, unmixed with personal considerations.

Master-General of the army; but quitted that place on account of some preference shewn to General Green. Don *Francesco*, Chargé des Affaires of Spain: and I believe that is all that can be said of him: M. de *Ternan*, a French officer in the service of America; he had been employed in some commissions in America, and after executing them, he took to the profession of arms; he is a young man of great wit and talents; he draws well, and speaks English like his own language; he was made prisoner

On signifying my intention of making a tour into the interior parts of Pennsylvania, he was so good as to give me the following letter of introduction, to his friend Colonel Patton, in case I passed by his neighbourhood. I have preserved it as characteristic at once of his own frankness, and American hospitality.

Dear Patton,

Mr. ——— my particular friend will favour you with a visit at the Spring.—I have assured him that he will meet a hearty welcome.

Philadelphia,
3d May, 1782.

Your's,
THO. MIFFLIN.

TRANSLATOR.

soner at Charles-Town :* the last whose name I recollect is Colonel *Armand*, that is, M. de la *Rouerie*, nephew of M. de la *Belinage*. He was as celebrated in France for his passion for Mademoiselle B—, as he is in America for his courage and capacity.† His family having compelled

N 4 him

* He is at present a Colonel in the service of Holland, in the legion of Maillebois.

† M. le Marquis de la *Rouerie* was then very young : his subsequent conduct has proved, that Nature, in giving a susceptible and impassioned mind, has not made him a present likely to be always fatal to him ; glory and honour have employed all its activity ; and it is an observation which merits to be consigned in history, as well as in this Journal, that carrying with him, as he did to America, all the heroic courage, and romantic notions of chivalry of the ancient French noblesse, he could so well conform to Republican manners, that far from availing himself of his birth, he would only make himself known by his Christian name : hence he was always called Colonel *Armand*. He commanded a legion which was destroyed in Carolina, at the battle of Camden, and in the remainder of that unfortunate campaign. In 1781, he went to France, purchased there every thing necessary for arming and equipping a new legion, and, on his return to America, he advanced the cost of them to Congress. Before the peace he was advanced to the rank of Brigadier General.

him to abandon an attachment the consequences of which they dreaded, he buried himself in a celebrated and profound retirement, (the monastery of La Trappe. T.) but he soon quitted it for America, when he devoted himself to a more glorious abstinence, and to more meritorious mortifications. His character is gay, his wit agreeable, and nobody would wish to see him make the vow of silence.

Such were the guests with whom I got acquainted; for I do not speak of M. de Dannemours, Consul of France, at Baltimore. M. de Marbois, Secretary of the embassy, nor of the family of M. de la Luzerne, which is pretty considerable. The dinner was served in the American, or if you will, in the English fashion; consisting of two courses, one comprehending the entrées, the roast meat, and the warm side dishes; the other, the sweet pastry, and confectionary. When this is removed, the cloth is taken off, and apples, nuts and chesnuts are served; it is then that healths are drank; the coffee which comes afterwards serves as a signal to rise from table. These healths,

or toasts, as I have already observed, have no inconvenience, and only serve to prolong the conversation, which is always more animated at the end of the repast; they oblige you to commit no excess, wherein they greatly differ from the German healths, and from those we still give in our garrisons and provinces. But I find it an absurd, and truly barbarous practice, the first time you drink, and at the beginning of dinner, to call out successively to each individual, to let him know you drink his health. The actor in this ridiculous comedy is sometimes ready to die with thirst, whilst he is obliged to inquire the names, or catch the eyes of five and twenty or thirty persons, and the unhappy persons to whom he addresses himself, with impatience, for it is certainly not possible for them to bestow a very great attention to what they are eating, and what is said to them, being incessantly called to on the right and left, or pulled by the sleeve by charitable neighbours, who are so kind as to acquaint them with the politeness they are receiving. The most civil of the Americans

ricans are not content with this general call; every time they drink they make partial ones, for example, four or five persons at a time. Another custom completes the despair of poor foreigners, if they be ever so little absent, or have good appetites: these general and partial attacks terminate in downright duels. They call to you from one end of the table to the other; *Sir, will you permit me to drink a glass of wine with you?* This proposal always is accepted, and does not admit the excuse of the Great-Cousin, *one does not drink without being acquainted.* The bottle is then passed to you, and you must look your enemy in the face, for I can give no other name to the man who exercises such an empire over my will: you wait till he likewise has poured out his wine, and taken his glass; you then drink mournfully with him, as a recruit imitates the corporal in his exercise. But to do justice to the Americans, they themselves feel the ridicule of these customs borrowed from Old England, and since laid aside by her. They proposed to the Chevalier de la Luzerne to dispense with

with them, knowing that his example would have great weight; but he thought proper to conform, and he did right. The more the French are known to be in possession of giving their customs to other nations, the more should they avoid the appearance of changing those of the Americans. Happy our nation if her Ambassadors, and her travellers, had always so correct an understanding, and if they never lost sight of this observation, that of all men, the dancing master should have the most negligent air!

After this dinner, which I may have possibly spun out too long, according to the custom of the country, the Chevalier de la Luzerne took me to make visits with him.*

The

* The conduct of the Chevalier de la Luzerne in America justified every idea that has been formed of the superior skill and address of the French nation on embassies, and in the cabinet. He not only conformed to the manners, and customs of the country, but he studied the character of every individual of the least importance. He rose early in the morning, and watched the hour that best suited their convenience, to wait on the Members of Congress, and the leading men of state; at dinner he received company

The first was Mr. Reed, President of the State. This post corresponds with that of Governor in the other provinces, but without

of all political complexions, except *offensive* tories; his afternoons were chiefly employed in visiting the ladies, and in passing from one house to another; in these visits he made no political exceptions, but on the contrary, paid his court particularly to the ladies in the suspected families, an evidently wise policy; in this class, he was supposed to have a very agreeable, as well as useful acquaintance, in the two Miss C——'s, who put no restraint upon their tongues, but were well informed of all the transactions of their party. Wherever he could not himself be present, Mr. Marbois, and Mr. Ottaw, the Secretaries, were distributed, so that you could not make an afternoon's visit to a *whig* or *tory* family in the city, without being sure to meet with this political General or one of his Aides de Camp. When he made a public entertainment, and the presence of the tory ladies gave offence to those of the patriotic party, he always pleaded ignorance, contrived to shift the blame from himself, and throw it on the Secretaries, who were left to fight the battle in the best way they could over the tea table; but all this was carried on with undescrivable address, and so managed as to keep all parties in good humour with him. He indulged every man's peculiarities, and bestowed the *petites attentions* on all. It is thus the French maintain their ascendancy in the cabinet, which is worth a thousand

out the same authority; for the Government of Pennsylvania is purely democratic, consisting

victories, and their superiority in the Courts of Europe, under every varied form of Government, from Holland to Constantinople. I cannot help contrasting with this policy, an instance of English diplomatic conduct.—A very respectable senator of Sweden, previous to the revolution in that country, told me, that in a very hard struggle, between the English and French parties in the senate, on some leading question, the English Minister applied to him in his turn, for his suffrage; on his starting some objection, the Minister turned angry, assumed a haughty tone, and observed that the Swedes did not know their true interest, that they might do as they thought proper, that England was the *only country* that could support them, and left him much out of humour; the same language he held to all the senators. The French Ambassador, on the contrary, was paying his court to each senator, in his family, distributing favours, and making entertainments, and carried his point with barely *insinuating*, what would be agreeable to his Court. Compare this anecdote with the well-known conduct in Holland, of a Minister mightily extolled for his wisdom and experience, *Sir Joseph Yorke*, and his memorials, before the late fatal breach with that country, and the success of the Duke de la Vauguyon, which nothing but such haughty, ill-timed language could have so rapidly produced, and judge whether *Sir William Temple* would have done the same. TRANSLATOR.

consisting only of a General Assembly, or House of Commons, who name an executive Council, composed of twelve members possessing very limited powers, of the exercise of which they are obliged to give an account to the Assembly, in which they have no voice. Mr. Reed has been a General Officer in the American army, and has given proofs of courage, having had a horse killed under him in the skirmish near *Whitemarsh*. It is he, whom Governor *Johnstone* attempted to corrupt in 1778, when England sent Commissioners to treat with Congress; but this attempt was confined to some insinuations, entrusted to Mrs. Ferguson. Mr. Reed, who is a sensible man, rather of an intriguing character, and above all eager of popular favour, made a great clamour, and published, and exaggerated the offers that were made him. The complaints of Mrs. Ferguson, who found herself committed in this affair, a public declaration of Governor *Johnstone*, whose object was to deny the facts, but which served only to confirm them; various charges, and refutations, printed and made public, produced

produced no other effect than to second the views of Mr. Reed, and to make him attain his end, of playing a leading part in the country. Unfortunately his pretensions, or his interest, led him to declare himself the enemy of Dr. *Franklin*.* When I was at Philadelphia, it was no less than matter of question to *recall* that respectable man ;

* I make no doubt that the M. de Chastellux is correct in this assertion, but thus much I can say from personal knowledge, that Mr. Reed is one of the warmest and most strenuous supporters of the present democratic constitution of Pennsylvania, the work of Dr. Franklin, and to subvert which almost all the personal enemies of Mr. Reed have been labouring for some years past. In Philadelphia, in 1782, the parties of constitutionalists, and anti-constitutionalists ran so high, as to occasion frequent personal quarrels. Another fact is well known to many persons in Europe, and to every body in America, that the attack on Dr. Franklin came from a much more powerful and intriguing quarter than that of Mr. Reed, who never was of any weight in *Congress*. Mr. Reed too was much attached to General Washington, whom the opposers of Dr. Franklin's constitution of Pennsylvania, *affected* to hold in no very high respect. I never exchanged a word with Mr. Reed; my only wish is to ascertain the truth. TRANSLATOR.

man; but the French party, or that of General Washington, or to express it still better, the really patriotic party prevailed, and the matter finished by sending an officer to France to represent the wretched state of the army, and to ask for an aid of clothes, tents, and money, of which it stood in much need. The choice fell on Colonel Laurens. *

Mr.

* Colonel Laurens obtained six millions of livres from the French Court, the greatest part of which was expended in clothing and necessaries for the American army, on his arrival in Europe in the spring of 1781. Mr. Gillon, who had the commission of *Commodore* from the State of Carolina, and had been sent over to purchase three frigates for that state, came immediately from Holland to Paris, and prevailed on Colonel Laurens, who was of the same state, to purchase a large quantity of the clothing at Amsterdam, a measure highly offensive to the French Court, to be shipped on board his frigate the *South Carolina*, which was to sail *immediately*, and besides her great force, carrying twenty-eight forty-two pounders, and twelve eighteens, had the legion of Luxembourg on board. The purchase was made accordingly at Amsterdam, the goods shipped on board the frigate, by which many private purposes were answered to Mr. Gillon, who, on some pretext however, after many months delay, and the Colo-

Mr. Reed has a handsome house, arranged and furnished in the English style.

nels return, removed the goods from the frigate, and shipped them on board two Dutch vessels *to be taken under his convoy*; but to these he soon gave the slip, leaving them in September in the Texel, without saying a word of his intention; finding he did not return, they were conveyed back in October to Amsterdam, and re-landed at an enormous expence to America, and to the great loss of the army, for whom they were intended as a supply that winter; yet, on his return, he had address enough to elude every inquiry into this very extraordinary transaction, to which escape, the universal esteem in which *Mrs. Gillon*, his wife, was held, by every person in Carolina, contributed not a little. It may here be proper to correct an error which has slipped into all the English public prints of the day, and particularly into *Doddsley's Annual Register*, on the subject of the frigate, the South Carolina. This frigate is mentioned in the list of Admiral *Zoutman's* fleet in the engagement off the Dogger Bank in August, 1781. The Translator was then at the Texel, saw the Dutch fleet sail, and return after the engagement; during that interval had the frigate lying at anchor before his eyes, and was close to her, on board another vessel off the end of the *Haaks*, a great shoal at the mouth of the Texel, when the Dutch fleet entered in the most shattered condition. Mr. Gillon is himself a native of Rotterdam, but was on very bad terms with all the officers of the Dutch fleet, and indeed with almost all his countrymen. TRANSLATOR.

I found there *Mrs. Washington*, who had just arrived from Virginia, and was going to stay with her husband, as she does at the end of every campaign. She is about forty, or five and forty, rather plump, but fresh, and with an agreeable face.* After passing a quarter

* I had the pleasure of passing a day or two with *Mrs. Washington*, at the General's house in Virginia, where she appeared to me to be one of the best women in the world, and beloved by all about her. She has no family by the General, but was surrounded by her grand children, and *Mrs. Custis*, her son's widow. The family were then in mourning for *Mr. Custis*, her son by a former marriage, whose premature death was subject of public and private regret. He was brought up by the General as his own son, and formed himself successfully on his model. He succeeded him as representative for Fairfax county, and promised to be a very distinguished member of society, but having gone down to York-Town, after the capture of Cornwallis, to view the works, he caught a malignant fever at one of the hospitals, and was rapidly carried off. The General was uncommonly affected at his death, insomuch that many of his friends imagined they perceived some change in his equanimity of temper, subsequent to that event. It is certain that they were upon terms of the most affectionate and manly friendship.

TRANSLATOR.

quarter of an hour at Mr. Reed's, we waited on Mr. Huntingdon, President of Congress: We found him in his cabinet, lighted by a single candle. This simplicity reminded me of that of the Fabricius's and the Philopemens. Mr. Huntingdon is an upright man, who espouses no party, and may be relied on. He is a native of Connecticut, and was Delegate for that state, when chosen President.

My day having been sufficiently taken up, the Chevalier de la Luzerne conducted me to the house where he had ordered lodgings to be prepared for me. It was at the Spanish Minister's, where there were several vacant apartments; for M. *Miralé*, who had occupied it, died a year before at Morris-Town. His Secretary has remained chargé des affaires, master of the house, and well contented to enjoy the *incarico*, which includes in it, besides the correspondence, a table maintained at the expence of the King of Spain. The Chevalier de la Luzerne, though very well and agreeably lodged, had no apartments to

spare;* he made them, however, contrive me one the next day, which contributed greatly to my happiness during my stay at Philadelphia, for I was situated exactly between M. de Marbois, and him, and able to

* The French Ambassador's was a very handsome house, hired of Mr. John Dickinson, and very near the seat of Congress. In one of those dreadful storms of thunder with which America is so frequently visited in the summer months, this house, though lower than the State-house, and that of his neighbour, Mrs. Allen, was struck by lightning, and a French officer, sitting alone in one of the rooms, burnt to death; the lightning had set fire to his clothes, and thrown him into a fainting fit, during which, part of his body was miserably scorched, and his private parts reduced to ashes, so that he survived but a few hours; but the principal ravage was in a chamber containing an *iron bedstead*, in which the Ambassador himself slept, by way of security from the bugs; in that room, large blocks of marble were rent in pieces, and torn from the chimney piece; its effects, in short, were so singular in many respects, and in some so contrary to received opinions, that Mr. *Arthur Lee*, and Dr. *Rush*, thought proper to publish a very long and curious account of it; and indeed, as far as I am able to judge, this stroke presented many new phenomena of electricity. It may be proper to add, that this was the only house in the neighbourhood *unprovided with an electrical apparatus*. TRANSLATOR.

to converse with them every moment of the day.

That of the 22d commenced, like every other day in America, by a great breakfast. As the dinners are very late at the Minister's, a few loins of veal, some legs of mutton, and other *trifles* of that kind are always introduced among the tea-cups, and are sure of meeting a hearty welcome. After this slight repast, which only lasted an hour and a half, we went to visit the ladies, agreeable to the Philadelphia custom, where the morning is the most proper hour for paying visits. We began by Mrs. *Bache*; she merited all the anxiety we had to see her, for she is the daughter of Mr. *Franklin*. Simple in her manners, like her respectable father, she possesses his benevolence. She conducted us into a room filled with work, lately finished by the ladies of Philadelphia. This work consisted neither of embroidered tambour waistcoats, nor net work edging, nor of gold and silver brocade—it was a quantity of shirts for the soldiers of Pennsylvania. The ladies bought the linen from their own private purses, and took a plea-

sure in cutting them out, and sewing them themselves. On each shirt was the name of the married, or unmarried lady who made it, and they amounted to 2200. Here is the place, no doubt, to make a very *moral*, but very *trivial* reflection on the difference between our manners and those of America; but as for myself, I am of opinion that, on a similar occasion, our French women would do as much, and I even venture to believe that such works would inspire as agreeable verses as those which accompany the annual presents of cradles, coaches, houses, castles, &c. laboriously and awkwardly brocaded. It must be allowed that this custom is an abundant source of most ingenious ideas; but their harvest is past, and they begin to be exhausted. But should any rigid French philosopher be disposed to censure French manners, I would not advise him to address himself to Mrs. P——, whom I waited upon on quitting Mrs. Bache. This is *the* agreeable woman of Philadelphia; her taste is as delicate as her health: an enthusiast to excess for all the French fashions, she only
waits

waits for the termination of this little revolution, to effect a still greater one in the manners of her country.

After paying due homage to this admirable female patriot, I hurried to make acquaintance with Mr. *Morris*. He is a very rich merchant, and consequently a man of every country, for commerce bears every where the same character. Under monarchies it is free; it is an egotist in republics; a stranger, or if you will, a citizen of the universe, it excludes alike the virtues and the prejudices that stand in the way of its interest. It is scarcely to be credited, that amidst the disasters of America, Mr. Morris, the inhabitant of a town just emancipated from the hands of the English, should possess a fortune of eight millions (between 3 and 400,000*l.* sterling). It is, however, in the most critical times that great fortunes are acquired. The fortunate return of several ships, the still more successful cruizes of his privateers, have increased his riches beyond his expectations, if not beyond his wishes. He is, in fact, so accustomed to the success of

his privateers, that when he is observed on a Sunday to be more serious than usual, the conclusion is, that no prize has arrived in the preceding week.* This flourishing state

* Mr. Morris has certainly enriched himself greatly by the war, but the house of *Willing and Morris* did a great deal of business, and was well known in all the considerable trading towns of Europe, previous to that period. Mr. Morris had various other means of acquiring wealth besides privateering; amongst others, by his own interest, and his connections with Mr. *Holker*, then Consul-General of France at Philadelphia, he frequently obtained exclusive permissions to ship cargoes of flour, &c. in the time of general embargoes, by which he gained immense profits. His situation gave him many similar opportunities, of which his capital, his credit, and abilities always enabled him to take advantage.—On the strength of his office, as Financier-General, he circulated *his own notes of Robert Morris*, as cash, throughout the continent, and even had the address to get some assemblies, that of Virginia in particular, to pass acts to make them current in payment of taxes. What purchases of tobacco, what profits of every kind might not a man of Mr. Morris's abilities make with such powerful advantages? The house the Marquis speaks of, in which Mr. Morris lives, belonged formerly to Mr. *Richard Penn*; the Financier has made great additions to it, and is the first who has introduced

state of commerce, at Philadelphia, as well as in Massachussets bay, is entirely owing to the arrival of the French squadron.†

The

roduced the luxury of hot-houses and ice-houses on the continent. He has likewise purchased the elegant country house formerly occupied by the traitor, Arnold, nor is his luxury to be outdone by any commercial voluptuary of London. This gentleman is a native of Manchester in England, is at the head of the aristocratical party in Pennsylvania, and has eventually been instrumental in the revolution: in private life he is much esteemed, by a numerous acquaintance.

TRANSLATOR.

† Very large fortunes were made from nothing during this period, but this state of prosperity was not of long duration; in 1781 and 1782, so numerous were the King's cruizers, and privateers, that frequently not one vessel out of seven that left the Delaware escaped their vigilance. The profits on successful voyages were enormous, but it was no uncommon thing to see a man one day worth forty or fifty thousand pounds, and the next reduced to nothing; indeed these rapid transitions were so frequent, that they almost ceased to affect either the comfort or the credit of the individual.—Flour shipped on board at Philadelphia, cost *five* dollars, and produced from twenty-eight to thirty-four dollars a barrel in *specie* at the Havannah, which is generally but a short run, and the arrival of one

The English have abandoned all their cruizes, to block it up at Newport, and in that they have succeeded ill, for they have not taken a single sloop coming to Rhode Island, or Providence. Mr. Morris is a large man, very simple in his manners; but his mind is subtle and acute, his head perfectly well organized, and he is as well versed in public affairs as in his own. He was a member of Congress in 1776, and ought to be reckoned among those personages who have had the greatest influence in the revolution of America. He is the friend of Dr. Franklin, and the decided enemy of Mr. Read. His house is handsome, resembling perfectly the houses

European cargo, out of three, amply repaid the merchant, so that notwithstanding the numerous captures, the stocks were continually full of new vessels to supply such as were lost or taken. In short, without having been upon the spot at that period, it is impossible to conceive the activity and perseverance of the Americans. There was scarcely a captain, or even common sailor, who had not been taken six or seven times during the war, nor a merchant who had not been, more than once, rich and ruined. TRANSLATOR.

houses in London; he lives there without ostentation, but not without expence, for he spares nothing which can contribute to his happiness, and that of Mrs. Morris, to whom he is much attached. A zealous republican, and an Epicurean philosopher, he has always played a distinguished part at table and in business.* I have already mentioned Mr. Powel, at present I must speak of his wife; and indeed it would be difficult to separate from each other, two persons, who for twenty years have lived together in the strictest union: I shall not say as man and wife, which would not convey the idea of perfect equality in America, but as two friends, happily matched in point of understanding, taste, and information.

* Mr. Morris has since filled for three years the post of Financier, or Comptroller-General, which was created for him. He had for his colleague Mr. *Governor Morris*, whom I have already mentioned, and who has amply justified the opinion entertained of his talents. It may safely be asserted, that Europe affords few examples of a perspicuity, and a facility of understanding equal to his, which adapts itself with the same success to business, to letters, and to sciences.

formation. Mr. Powel, as I have before said, has travelled in Europe, and returned with a taste for the fine arts; his house is adorned with the most valuable prints, and good copies of several of the Italian masters. Mrs. Powel has not travelled, but she has read a great deal, and profitably: it would be unjust perhaps, to say, that in this she differs from the greatest part of the American Ladies; but what distinguishes her the most is, her taste for conversation, and the truly European use she knows how to make of her understanding and information.

I fear my readers (if ever I have any) may make this natural reflection, that visits are very tiresome pieces of business every where, and as it is impossible to escape the epigrammatic turn of the French, without making great haste, I am determined to get the start. I apprize them however, that I acquit them of a long dinner, which the Chevalier de la Luzerne gave that day to the southern Delegates. I shall have occasion to speak elsewhere of some of these Delegates, and as for those who will
not

not give me that opportunity, they deserve to be passed over in silence.

Fearful lest the pleasures of Capua should make me forget the campaigns of *Hannibal*, and of *Fabius*, I determined to get on horseback, on the second of December, to visit the field of battle of *German-Town*. Many recollect, that after the defeat of Brandywine, in 1777, the American army, not thinking proper to defend Philadelphia, retired to the upper *Schuylkill*, whilst the English took possession, without resistance, of the capital of Pennsylvania. Elated with their success, and full of that confidence which has invariably deceived them, they had divided and dispersed their forces: the greatest part of their troops encamped upon the *Schuylkill*, four miles from Philadelphia; another division occupied *German-Town*, eight miles to the northward of that place, and they sent a considerable detachment to *Billingsport*, to favour the passage of their fleet, which was making fruitless endeavours to get up the Delaware. Thus circumstanced, General, Washington thought it was time to re-
mind

mind the English, that there still existed an American army. One is at a loss whether most to extol the sage intrepidity of the chief, or the resolution displayed by his army in making an attack on the same troops, whose shock they were unable to sustain a month before. German-Town is a long town, or village, consisting of a single street, not unlike *La Villitre*, or *Vauginard*, near Paris. From the first house, at the south, to the last, at the north end of the town, it is near two miles and a half. The English corps which occupied, or rather covered it, was encamped near the last houses to the northward, and so situated as that the street, or main road, intersected the camp at right angles. This body might amount to three or four thousand men. General Washington, who occupied a position at ten miles distance,*
on

* There are many striking differences between this account, and that given by General Howe in his public dispatches, in his own narrative to the house of commons, and in the examination of his witnesses.—The English General reports, that Washington's camp near Skippack Creek, from

on *Skippack Creek*, left his camp towards midnight, marching in two columns, one of which was to turn German-Town on the eastward, the other on the left; two brigades of the right column were ordered to form the corps de reserve, to separate themselves from that column, at the instant

whence he moved, was *sixteen* miles from German-Town—The Marquis says, only *ten*. The English General strongly asserts, that this affair was no surprise (see his *narrative*, and his examination of *Sir George Osborne*), the Marquis seems to be well authorized to call it a *complete surprise*. The General affirms he was prepared for it.—The Marquis *proves*, nay, the English General's letters and narrative demonstrate how narrowly, and by what means his army, and the British affairs escaped total ruin. The General says, "The enemy retired near twenty miles to *Perkyoming Creek*, and are now encamped near *Skippack Creek*, about *eighteen* miles distance from hence." The Marquis asserts, that "The retreat was executed in good order, that General Washington took an excellent position within *four* miles of German-Town, so that on the evening of the battle, he was six miles nearer the enemy than before." How shall we reconcile these essential contradictions, which ought unquestionably to be discussed, for the interest of truth, and the benefit of history? TRANSLATOR.

stant of the attack, and follow the main street of German-Town. A very thick fog came on, favourable to the march of the enemy, but which rendered the attack more difficult, as it became impossible to concert the movements, and extend the troops. The militia marched on the right and left, without the two columns, not being committed in the affair, and always skirting the woods, on the Frankfort side, as well as on that of the Schuylkill. General Washington halted a moment before daylight, at a cross road, distant only half a mile from the picket, or advanced post of the enemy. There he learnt from an English dragoon, who was intoxicated, and had lost his way, that the Billingsport detachment was returned. This unexpected intelligence did not change the General's project; he continued his march at the head of the right column, and fell upon the English picket, who were surprised, put to rout, and driven to the camp, where they brought the first news of the arrival of the Americans. The troops flew to arms, and precipitately fell back, leaving
their

their tents standing, and abandoning all their baggage. This was a moment not to be lost, and French troops would certainly have availed themselves of it, nay it would have been difficult to prevent them either from pursuing the enemy too far, or from dispersing to plunder the camp. It is here we may form a judgment of the American character. Perhaps this army, notwithstanding the slowness of its manœuvres, and its inexperience in war, may merit the praises of Europeans. General Sullivan, who commanded the column on the right, calmly and slowly formed the three brigades a head; and after ranging them in order of battle, he traversed the English camp, without a single soldier stopping for plunder: he advanced in this manner, leaving the houses on the left, and driving before him all resistance from the gardens and inclosures; he penetrated into the town itself, and was some time engaged with the troops who defended a small square near the market.

Whilst every thing thus succeeded on the right, General Washington, at the head

of the reserve, was expecting to see his left column arrive, and pursued his march by the main street. But a fire of musquetry, which proceeded from a large house within pistol shot of the street, suddenly checked the van of his troops. It was resolved to attack this house; but cannon were necessary, for it was known to be of stone, and could not therefore be set fire to. Unfortunately they had only six pounders: the Chevalier Dupleffis-Mauduit, brought two pieces near another house, two hundred paces from the former. This cannonade produced no effect, it penetrated the walls, but did not beat them down. The Chevalier de Mauduit, full of that ardour, which at the age of sixteen, made him undertake a journey into Greece, to view the fields of *Platea* and *Thermopylae*, and at twenty go in search of laurels in America, resolved to attack by main force this house, which he was unable to reduce by cannon. * He proposed to

* In 1782 I visited and passed a very agreeable day at this celebrated Stone-house, so bravely, and judiciously defended by *Colonel Musgrove*, and saw many marks of cannon and musquet shot in the

to Colonel Laurens to take with him some determined men, and get some straw and hay from a barn, to set fire to the principal door. One may conceive such an idea presenting itself to two spirited young men; but it is scarcely credible, that of these two

P 2

noble

walls, doors, and window shutters, besides two or three mutilated statues which stood in front of it. It is a plain gentleman's country-house, with four windows in front, and two stories high, calculated for a small family, and stands single, and detached from every other building, so that defended as it was by six companies, commanded by so gallant an officer, it was calculated to make a long resistance against every thing but heavy cannon. I here saw, what to me was perfectly new, but in this perhaps I betray my ignorance; a cock, though surrounded by hens, in frequent copulation with a duck. Being in company with ladies, I had no opportunity of inquiring whether there was any, and what sort of produce. From the different size of their bodies, the difference of their organization, and the mode of union, I could not help considering it as not much less extraordinary than the Brussels fable of the Hen and Rabbit; but in this, perhaps, every peasant can set me right. This house formerly belonged to Mr. Chew, a loyalist, and was purchased by Mr. *Blair Mac Glenaghan*; who, from a very small beginning, has, by his industry, fairly and honourably acquired a very considerable fortune. TRANSLATOR.

noble adventurous youths, one should be at present on his way to France, and the other in good health at Newport.* M. de Mau-duit making no doubt that they were following him with all the straw in the barn, went straight to a window on the ground floor, which he forced, and on which he mounted. He was received, in truth, like the lover who mounting a ladder to see his mistress found the husband waiting for him on the balcony: I do not know whether, like him too, on being asked what he was doing there, he answered, *I am only taking a walk*; but this I know, that whilst a gallant man, pistol in hand, desired him to surrender, another less polite entering briskly into the chamber, fired a musquet shot, which killed, not M. de Mau-duit, but the officer who wished to take him. After these slight mistakes, and this little quarrel, the difficulty was for him to retire. On one hand he must be exposed to a smart

* Mr. Laurens has since fallen a victim to his to inconsiderate valour: he was killed in Carolina, in a skirmish of little importance, a short time before the signing of the peace.

a smart fire from the first and second floor ; on the other, a part of the American army were spectators, and it would have been ridiculous to return running. Mr. de Mauduit, like a true Frenchman, chose rather to expose himself to death than ridicule ; but the balls respected our prejudices ; he returned safe and sound, and Mr. Laurens, who was in no greater haste than he, escaped with a slight wound in his shoulder. I must not here omit a circumstance which proves the precarious tenure of a military existence. General Washington thought that on summoning the commander of this post, he would readily surrender : it was proposed to M. de Mauduit to take a drum with him, and make this proposal ; but on his observing that he spoke bad English, and might not, perhaps, be understood, an American officer was sent, who being preceded by a drum, and displaying a white handkerchief, it was imagined, would not incur the smallest risque ; but the English answered this officer only by musquet shot, and killed him on the spot.

By this time the enemy began to rally: the English army had marched from their camp near Schuylkill to succour German-Town, and Cornwallis was coming with all expedition from Philadelphia, with the grenadiers and chasseurs, whilst the corps de reserve of the American army were losing their time at the Stone-house, and the left column was scarcely ready for the attack. The contest was now become too unequal, and it became necessary to think of a retreat, which was executed in good order, and General Washington took an excellent position four miles from German-Town; so that on the evening of the battle, he was six miles nearer the enemy than before. The capacity he had just displayed on this occasion, the confidence he had inspired into an army they thought disheartened, and which, like the Hydra of the fable, re-appeared with a more threatening head, astonished the English, and kept them in awe, till the defeat of Burgoyne changed the aspect of affairs. This is the most favourable light in which we can view this day, unfortunately too bloody for any advantages derived from
from

from it. Military men who shall view the ground, or have before them an accurate plan, will, I imagine, be of opinion, that the extensiveness of the object occasioned the failure of this enterprize. The project of first beating the advanced corps, then the army, and afterwards of becoming masters of Philadelphia, was absolutely chimerical: for the village of German-Town being upwards of two miles in length, presented too many obstacles for the assailants, and too many points of rallying for the English: besides that it is not in intersected countries, and without cavalry, that great battles are gained, which destroy or disperse armies. Had General Washington contented himself with proceeding to Whitemarsh, and covering his march with a large body of troops, which might have advanced to German-Town, he would have surprised the English van-guard, and forced them to retire with loss; and if satisfied with this sort of lesson given to a victorious army, he had fallen back on the new position he wished to occupy, he would have completely fulfilled his object, and the whole honour of

the day been his. But, supposing the project of attack to be, such as was adopted, it appears to me that two faults, rather excusable 'tis true, were committed; one, the losing time in ranging in line of battle General Sullivan's column, instead of marching directly to the camp of the enemy; the other, the amusing themselves in attacking the Stone-house. The first fault will appear very pardonable to those who have seen the American troops such as they then were; they had no instruction, and were so ill-disciplined, that they could neither preserve good order in marching in a column, nor spread themselves when it became necessary; for experience, which is always differing with *M. de Menil Durand*, teaches us, that profound order is the most subject to disorder and confusion, and which consequently demands the most phlegm and discipline. The second error may be justified by the hope they always had of getting possession of the Stone-house, the importance of which was measured by the obstinacy of the enemy in defending it. It is certain, that two better measures might have

have been adopted: the first to pursue their march without regarding the fire of musquetry, which could always have been sufficiently slackened by detaching a few men to fire at the windows; and the second, that of leaving the village on the left, to enter it again three hundred paces further on, where it would then have been sufficient to take possession of another house opposite to those occupied by the enemy: though this house be not quite so high as the former, the fire from it would have checked the English, and secured a retreat in case of necessity.*

In allowing myself this sort of censure, I feel how much I ought to mistrust my own judgment, especially as I was not present at the action; but I made the same observations to M. Laurens, M. de Mauduit, and M. de Gimat, who seemed to be unable to refute them. We have seen the share the two former

Possibly the Marquis does not know that there were *six companies* of the 40th regiment in this house; no despicable enemy to leave in the rear of such an army as General Washington's was composed of.

TRANSLATOR.

mer had in the engagement; the third has several times viewed the field of battle with General Washington, who explained to him the motions of the two armies, and nobody is better calculated to hear well, and to give a good account of what he has heard.

After sufficiently examining the position of German-Town, I returned to Philadelphia by the shortest road, and quicker than I came, for the cold was very piercing, and I had only time to dress myself to accompany the Chevalier de la Luzerne to dine with the Northern Delegates. It must be understood, that the Delegates, or if you will, the Members of Congress, have a tavern to themselves, where they give frequent entertainments; but that the company may not be too numerous at a time, they divide themselves into two sets, and as we see, very geographically; the line of demarkation being from east to west.* The dinner
was

* There is a great probability of seeing this line of demarkation more distinctly marked, by a separation of the foederal union into *two parts*, at no very distant day; but not on hostile, or unfriendly terms. This was matter of frequent discussion during my

was plain and good, and our reception polite and cordial, but not ceremonious. Two Delegates placed at each end, did the honours of the table. Mr. *Duane*, Deputy from the State of New York, occupied the side I was on. He is of a gay and open character, has no objection to talk, and drinks without repugnance. I conversed some time, but less than I could have wished

stay at Philadelphia, and seemed to be an opinion which was daily gaining ground. Indeed it seems to be a measure which sooner or later must take place, from the obvious difficulties attending the management, and operations of a confederacy extending from Florida to Nova Scotia, a country, every day increasing in population, and branching out into *new states*. Such a division must, in my opinion, give new force and energy to each part of it, and produce more union and activity in their councils: nor do I see any bad consequences arising from such an amicable separation, except in the case of a war exactly similar to the last, a case which I believe every man will agree is scarcely within the line of possibility. *Local* obstacles to a long continuance of the present state of things, must alone infallibly produce it. They who are acquainted with America will add many reasons, which it is unnecessary for me to enumerate. TRANSLATOR.

wished with Mr. *Charles Thompson*,* Secretary of Congress. He passes, with reason, for one of the best informed men in the country, and though he be a man of the cabinet, and mixing little with society, his manners are polite and amiable. Mr. *Samuel Adams*, Deputy for Massachusetts Bay, was not at this dinner, but on rising from table I went to see him. When I entered his room, I found him *tête-à-tête* with a young girl of fifteen who was preparing his tea; but we shall not be scandalized at this, on considering that he is at least sixty. Every body in Europe knows that he was one of the prime movers of the present revolution. I experienced in his company the satisfaction one rarely has in the world, nay even on the theatre, of finding the person of the actor corresponding with the character he performs. In him, I saw a man wrapt up in his object, who never spoke but to give a good opinion of his cause, and a high idea of his country. His
simple

* Mr. Thompson is an Irishman; his nephew, Mr. *Sinclair*, is a barrister at York in England.

simple and frugal exterior, seemed intended as a contrast with the energy and extent of his ideas, which were wholly turned towards the republic, and lost nothing of their warmth by being expressed with method and precision; as an army, marching towards the enemy, has not a less determined air for observing the laws of tactics. Amongst many facts he cited in honour of his country, I shall relate one which merits to be transmitted to posterity. Two young soldiers had deserted from the army, and returned to their father's house. Their father, incensed at this action, loaded them with irons, and conducted them himself to their General, Lord Stirling. He did what every other officer would have done, in his place,—he pardoned them. The father, as patriotic, but less austere than a Roman, was happy to preserve his children; nevertheless he seemed astonished, and approaching the General, my Lord, says he, with tears in his eyes, *'Tis more than I hoped for.*—I quitted Mr. Adams with regret, but with a full intention of seeing him again, and my evening terminated by a visit

to

to Colonel *Bland*, one of the Delegates for Carolina. He is a tall handsome man, who has been in the West-Indies, where he acquired French. He is said to be a good foldier, but at present serves his country, and serves it well, in Congress. The Southern Delegates, in fact, have great credit, they are incessantly labouring to draw the attention of the Government towards them, and to avert every idea of purchasing peace on their account.

The weather was so bad the third that it was impossible to stir out. I had no reason to complain however of the employment of this day, which I passed either in conversation with M. de la Luzerne, and M. de Marbois, or in reading such interesting papers as they were pleased to communicate. Mr. Huntington having informed me, that the next day he would shew me the hall in which the Congress assembles, I went there at ten o'clock, and found him waiting for me accompanied by several Delegates. This hall is spacious, without magnificence; its handsomest ornament is the portrait of General Washington, larger than life: He

is represented on foot, in that noble and easy attitude which is natural to him; cannon, colours, and all the attributes of war form the accessories of the picture. I was then conducted into the Secretary's hall, which has nothing remarkable but the manner in which it is furnished; the colours taken from the enemy serve by way of tapestry. From thence you pass to the library, which is pretty large, but far from being filled; the few books it is composed of, appear to be well chosen. It is in the town-house that Congress hold their meetings: this building is rather handsome; the staircase in particular is wide and noble: as to external ornaments, they consist only in the decoration of the gate, and in several tablets of marble placed above the windows. I remarked a peculiarity in the roof, which appeared new to me: the chimneys are bound to the two extremities of the building, which is a long square, and are so constructed, as to be fastened together in the form of an arch, thus forming a sort of portico.

After taking leave of the President and Delegates, I returned to the Chevalier de la Luzerne's, and as the streets were covered with ice, I staid at home, where I received a visit from Mr. *Wilson*, * a celebrated lawyer, and author of several pamphlets on the present affairs. He has in his library all our best authors on public law and jurisprudence; the works of President Montesquieu, and of the Chancellor d'Aqueflau, hold the first rank among them, and he makes them his daily study. After dinner, which was private and *a la Francoise*, I went to see Mrs. *Bingham*, a young and handsome woman, only seventeen: her husband, who was there, according to the American custom, is only five and twenty:†
 he

* Mr. *Wilson* is a Scotchman, and is making a fortune rapidly in the profession of the law at Philadelphia. He is about four and forty, a man of real abilities, and Mr. *Morris*'s intimate friend and coadjutor in his aristocratic plans. TRANSLATOR.

† Mr. *Bingham*, even at this age, returned from Martinico with a very handsome fortune. In the year 1782, he gained a very considerable sum by opening policies on the capture of the Count de

he was Agent of Congress at Martinico, from whence he is returned with a tolerable knowledge of French, and with much attachment

de Grasse in the Ville de Paris; an event, of which there is little doubt he had secret and sure intelligence from his connection with the islands. They first opened at 10, and afterwards were done at 25 and 30 per cent. Very large sums were underwritten, chiefly by the *whigs*, who were unwilling, and could not be brought to credit this piece of news. Circumstances were peculiarly favourable to this speculation, for, notwithstanding the great intercourse between the West-Indies and the Continent, only *two* accounts of this affair arrived for six weeks after the engagement; the event of which was sooner known, with certainty, in England. The one was in Rivington's New York paper, copied from the Antigua Gazette, and lamely given; besides, that his paper was deservedly in universal discredit; the other was brought to Philadelphia by the *Holker* privateer, Captain Keane, who saw part of the engagement, but whose account contradicted the principal facts in Rivington's. The two fleets having gone to leeward after the battle, no fresh intelligence was received from the *leeward*, or more properly speaking here, in the *windward* islands, so that this gambling was carried to so high a pitch, as to induce the French Ambassador to go in person to the coffee-house to communicate a letter he had received from Martinique, subsequent to the battle; from which

attachment to the Marquis de Bouillé. I passed the remainder of the evening with Mrs. Powell, where I expected to have an agreeable conversation; in which I was not deceived, and forgot myself there till pretty late.

I went again to the Town-House, on the 5th, but it was to be present at the Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania; for the hall, where this sort of parliament meets, is under the same roof with the Congress. I was with M. de la Fayette, the Vicomte de Noailles, the Comte de Damas, M. de Gimat, and all the French, or *Gallo-Americans*, fair conclusions might be drawn *against* the capture; but this, instead of putting a stop to the gambling, by encouraging the whigs, increased it:—Mr. Bingham and his friends in the secret, indulged them to the utmost extent of their enthusiasm; and if the policies were all paid, a matter which began to be a subject of discussion when I left Philadelphia, must have gained *prodigious sums*, for no less than from £. 80,000 to £. 100,000 sterling were calculated to have been written. It is a singular circumstance, that the first *authentic* account of this great battle, which appeared in America, was copied from the *London Gazette*. Whereas we had at Boston the account of the loss of the *Royal George*, at Spithead, the 16th day after the accident, by way of Newfoundland.

TRANSLATOR.

ricans, at Philadelphia. We seated ourselves on a bench opposite the Speaker's chair: on his right was the President of the State, the Clerks were placed at a long table before the Speaker. The debates turned on some misconduct, imputed to the Commissioners of the Treasury. The executive council were sent for and heard. General Mifflin was almost the only speaker; he delivered himself with grace and spirit, but with a marked intention of opposing the President of the State, who is not one of his friends. His manner of expressing himself, his gestures, his deportment, the air and ease of superiority he invariably assumed, perfectly reminded me of those members of the House of Commons who are accustomed to give the tone to others, and to make every thing bend to their opinion. The affair not being terminated in the morning, the Speaker left the chair; the house went into a committee, and adjourned.

The morning was not far spent, and I had enough to employ it; I was expected in three places; by a lover of natural

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history,

history, by an anatomist, and at the college, or rather university of Philadelphia. I began by the cabinet of natural history. This small and scanty collection, is greatly celebrated in America, where it is unrivalled; it was formed by a painter of Geneva, called *Cimetiere*, a name better suited to a physician, than a painter. This worthy man came to Philadelphia twenty years ago, to take portraits, and has continued there ever since; he lives there still as a bachelor, and a foreigner, a very uncommon instance in America where men do not long remain without acquiring the titles of husband and citizen. What I saw most curious in this cabinet, was a large quantity of the *vice*, or screw, a sort of shell pretty common, within which a very hard stone, like *jade*,* is exactly moulded. It appears clear to me, that these petrifications are formed by the successive accumulation of lapidific molecules conveyed by the waters, and assimilated by the assistance of fixed air.

* See Chambers's *Encyclopedia*—a green, sort of precious stone, called in France *la pierre divine*, from its supposed mystic qualities.

air. After fatiguing my legs, and satisfying my eyes, which is always the case in cabinets of natural history, I thought proper to quit the earth for heaven; or, in the vulgar style, I went to the library of the university, to see a very ingenious machine (an Orrery) representing all the celestial motions. I lose no time in declaring that I shall not give a description of it: for nothing is so tiresome as the description of any machine; it is enough for me to say, that one part of it gives a perfect view, on the vertical point, of all the motions of the planets in their orbits; and that the other, which is designed only to represent that of the moon, displays, in the clearest manner, her phases, her nodes, and her different altitudes. The President of the college,* and Mr. *Rittenhouse*, the in-

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ventor

* The President is Dr. *Ewing*. I had the gratification of being present at a public exhibition at the college, at which the Congress, the President and executive council of the state, General Washington, the French Minister, and all the strangers of distinction, &c. assisted. Some excellent declamations were made in Latin, and in English, by the young men who were about to leave college, and obtain degrees;

ventor and maker of this machine, took the pains of explaining to me every particular:

degrees; by no means inferior to those I have heard at Oxford and Cambridge. Their compositions in general were elegant, and their elocution easy, dignified and manly; but whatever was the subject, the great cause of liberty and their country never was lost sight of, nor their abhorrence of the tyranny of Britain. This language in the mouths of some of these young men, who were the sons of *tories*, illustrated the remark of the shrewd and sensible *author of Common Sense*, that whilst the war was depending, the old prejudiced friends of Britain were dropping off, and the rising generation, in the course of seven years, knew nothing of that country but as an enemy, nor saw, or heard of any thing but her cruelties and devastation. To them the independence of America appeared as much the natural and established government of the country, as that of England does to an Englishman. “Time and Death, says he, hard
“enemies to contend with, fight constantly against
“the interests of Britain; and the bills of mortality,
“in every part of America are the thermometers of her
“decline. The children in the streets are from their
“cradle bred to consider her as their only foe. They
“hear of her cruelties: of their fathers, uncles, and
“kindred killed; they see the remains of burnt and
“destroyed houses, and the common tradition of
“the school they go to, tells them *those things were*
“*done by the British.*” I

cular: they seemed very happy that I knew English, and astronomy enough to understand them; on which I must observe, that the latter article is more to the shame of the Americans than to my praise; the almanack being almost the only book of Astronomy studied at Philadelphia. Mr. Rittenhouse is of a German family, as his name announces; but he is a native of Philadelphia, and a watch-maker by profession. He is a man of great simplicity and modesty, and though not a mathematician of the class of the Eulers, and the D'Alemberts, knows enough of that science to be perfectly acquainted with the motions of the heavenly bodies. As for his mechanical talents, it is unnecessary to assign a reason for them; we know that of all others, they are less the result of study, and most generally the gift of nature; and it is a fact worthy of observation, that, notwithstanding the little connection to be perceived between that particular disposition and the delicacy of our senses, or the perfection of our organs, men are more frequently born mechanics, than painters and musicians. Edu-

cation, nay, even the rigour of education, frequently makes great artists in the two latter ; but there is no example of its making a mechanical genius.

This morning seemed devoted to the sciences, and my walks were a sort of encyclopedia, for, on quitting the university library, I went to call upon a celebrated anatomist, called *Dr. Showell*. The following, in a few words, is his history: he was born in England upwards of seventy years ago. After studying medicine and surgery there, he went to France to improve himself under M. Winslow. In 1734, he went to the West Indies, where he since practised medicine, sometimes at Barbadoes, sometimes at Jamaica ; but is invariably a man of application, and laborious. In the war of 1744, a prize being brought into Barbadoes, with a great deal of wax on board, Mr. Showell took this opportunity to make different anatomical experiments in wax, and he succeeded so well as to carry this art to the highest degree of perfection. On seeing him, one can with difficulty conceive how so much patience and perseverance

rance could consist with his natural vivacity; for it seems as if the sun of the tropic had preserved in him all the heat of youth; he speaks with fire, and expresses himself as well in French as if he were still in our schools of surgery. In other respects, he is a perfect original: his reigning taste is disputation; when the English were at Philadelphia he was a whig, and has become a tory since they left it; he is always fighting after Europe, without resolving to return, and declaiming constantly against the Americans, he still remains amongst them. His design in coming to the continent, was to recover his health, so as to enable him to cross the seas: this was about the commencement of the war; and, since that time, he imagines he is not at liberty to go, though no body prevents him. He was to me a greater curiosity than his anatomical preparations, which, however, appeared superior to those of Bologna, but inferior to the preparations of Mademoiselle *Bieron*; the wax having always a certain lustre which makes them less like nature.

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At the end of this morning's walk I was like a bee, so laden with honey that he can hardly regain his hive. I returned to the Chevalier de la Luzerne's with my memory well stored, and after taking food for the body as well as mind, I dedicated my evening to society. I was invited to drink tea at Colonel Bland's, that is to say, to attend a sort of assembly pretty much like the *conversazioni* of Italy; for tea here is the substitute for the *rinresco*. Mr. Howley, Governor of Georgia, Mr. Izard, Mr. Arthur Lee, (the two last lately arrived from Europe) M. de la Fayette, M. de Noailles M. de Damas, &c. were of the Party. The scene was decorated by several married and unmarried ladies, among whom, Miss Shippen, daughter of Dr. Shippen, and cousin of Mrs. Arnold, claimed particular distinction. Thus we see that in America the crimes of individuals are not reflected on their family; not only had Dr. Shippen's brother given his daughter to the traitor Arnold, a short time before his desertion, but it is generally believed, that being himself a tory, he had inspired his daughter

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ter with the same sentiments, and that the charms of this handsome woman contributed not a little to hasten to criminality a mind corrupted by avarice, before it felt the power of love.*

On our return to the Chevalier de la Luzerne's we assembled all the French and Gallo-American military, and laid our plan for a very agreeable jaunt we took next day. The 6th in the morning, M. de la Fayette, the Vicomte de Noailles, the Comte de Damas, the Chevalier du Plessis Mau-duit, Messieurs de Gimat and De Neville, Aides de Camp of M. de la Fayette, M. de Montesquieu, Mr. Lynch, and myself, set out to visit the field of battle of *Brandywine*,
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* Mrs. Arnold is said to be very handsome; but this I know, that her two sisters are charming women, and must have been very dangerous companions for a wavering mind, in the least susceptible of the most powerful of all passions. But an apology for Arnold, on this supposition, is too generous for a mind so thoroughly base and unprincipled as his. With what delicacy could be beloved a woman by that miscreant who made the mysteries of the nuptial bed the subject of his coarse ribaldry to his companions, the day after his marriage!

TRANSLATOR.

thirty miles from Philadelphia. M. de la Fayette had not seen it, since at the age of twenty, separating from his wife, his friends, the pleasures of the world, and those of youth, at the distance of three thousand miles, he there shed the first drop of blood he offered to glory, or rather to that noble cause he has invariably supported with the same zeal, but with better fortune. We passed the Schuylkill at the same ferry where Mr. Du Coudray was drowned in 1777. We there discovered the traces of some entrenchments thrown up by the English after they became masters of Philadelphia; then turning to the left, we rode on fourteen miles to the little town of Chester. It is built at the junction of the creek of that name, with the Delaware, and is a sort of port where vessels coming up the river sometimes anchor. The houses, to the number of forty or fifty, are handsome and built of stone or brick.* On leaving Chester, and on the road to Brandywine, we pass the stone bridge where M. de

* Not far from this town, is found an astonishing quantity of *asbestos*.

de la Fayette, wounded as he was, stopped the fugitives, and made the first dispositions for rallying them behind the creek. The country beyond it has nothing particular, but resembles the rest of Pennsylvania, that is to say, is interspersed with woods and cultivated lands. It was too late when we came within reach of the field of battle, and as we could see nothing till next morning, and were too numerous to remain together, it was necessary to separate into two divisions. Messieurs de Gimat, De Mauduit, and my two Aides de Camp, staid with me at an inn, three miles on this side Brandywine; and M. de la Fayette, attended by the other travellers, went further on to ask for quarters at a Quaker's, called *Benjamin Ring*, at whose house he lodged with General Washington the night before the battle. I joined him early the next morning, and found him in great friendship with his host, who, Quaker as he was, seemed delighted to entertain the *Marquis*. We got on horseback at nine, provided with a plan, executed under the direction of General Howe, and engraved in England; but
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we got more information from an American Major, with whom M. de la Fayette had appointed a place of meeting. This officer was present at the engagement, and his house being on the field of battle, he knew it better than any body.

We must recollect, that in 1777, the English having in vain attempted to cross the Jerseys to get to Philadelphia by land, were obliged to embark, and doubled the capes to reach the bay of Chesapeak, and the mouth of the river *Elk*. They arrived there the 25th of August, after a passage dreadful by sea, but fortunate in the bay, which they remounted with much less difficulty than they expected. Whilst the sea, the winds, and three hundred vessels were assisting the manœuvres of the enemy's army, Mr. Washington remained some days at Middlebrook, in one of the most embarrassing positions in which the General of an army can be placed. To the north, the troops of Burgoyne, after taking Ticonderoga, were advancing towards Albany; to the south, an English army of fifteen thousand men were embarked, and might
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either proceed to Chesapeak bay, as they did, penetrate by the Delaware, or go up Hudson's river as far as Crest Point, to form a junction with Burgoyne, and cut off the American army, which from that moment would have been for ever separated from the eastern and northern states. Of all the chances, *this was certainly the most to be dreaded*; accordingly General Washington did not abandon his position at Middlebrook, till he received certain intelligence that the enemy had doubled *Cape May*. Let us figure to ourselves the situation in which a General must find himself, when obliged to comprehend in his plan of defence, an immense country, and a vast extent of coast, he is at a loss to know, within one hundred and fifty miles, where the enemy is likely to appear; and having no longer any intelligence of them, either by patrols, or detachments, or even by couriers, is reduced to the necessity of observing the compass, and of consulting the winds, before he can form any resolution. As soon as the movement of the enemy was decided, General Washington lost no
time

time in marching his army; I should rather say his foldiers, for a number of foldiers, however considerable, does not always form an army. His was composed of at most 12,000 men. It was at the head of these troops, the greatest part of them new levies, that he traversed in silence the city of Philadelphia, whilst the Congress were giving him orders to fight, yet removing their archives and public papers into the interior parts of the country; a sinister presage of the success which must follow their council.

The army passed the Schuylkill, and occupied a first camp near *Wilmington*, on the banks of the Delaware. This position had a double object, for the ships of war, after convoying General Howe to the river Elk, had fallen down the bay of the Chesapeake, remounted the Delaware, and seconded by some troops landed from the fleet, appeared inclined to force the passages of that river. General Washington, however, soon perceived that the position he had taken became every day more dangerous. The English, having finished their debarkation,

debarkation, were ready to advance into the country; his flank was exposed, and he left uncovered, at once, Philadelphia and the whole county of Lancaster. It was determined therefore that the army should repass the Creek of Brandywine, and encamp on the left bank of that river. The position made choice of, was certainly the best that could be taken to dispute the passage. The left was very good, and supported by thick woods extending as far as the junction of the creek with the Delaware. As it approaches its conflux, this creek becomes more and more embanked, and difficult to ford: the heights are equal on the two banks; but for this reason the advantage was in favour of him who defended the passage. A battery of cannon with a good parapet, was pointed towards *Chaddsford*, and every thing appeared in safety on that side; but to the right the ground was so covered, that it was impossible to judge of the motions of the enemy, and to keep in a line with them, in case they should attempt, as they did, to detach a corps by their left, to pass the river higher up. The only precaution

that could be taken was to place *five* or *six brigades** in steps from each other, to watch that manœuvre. General Sullivan had the command of them; he received orders to keep in a line with the enemy, should they march by their left; and on the supposition that they would unite their forces on the side of Chaddsford, he was himself to pass the river, and make a powerful diversion on their flank.

When a general has foreseen every thing, when he has made the best possible dispositions, and his activity, his judgment, and his courage in the action correspond with the wisdom of his measures, has he not already triumphed in the eyes of every impartial judge? and if by any unforeseen accidents, the laurels he has merited drop from his hands, is it not the historian's duty carefully to collect, and replace them on his brow? Let us hope that history will acquit herself of this duty better than us, and let us see how such wise dispositions were disconcerted by the mistakes of some officers, and the inexperience of the troops.

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* General Howe calls them 10,000 men.

The 11th of September, General Howe occupied the heights on the right of the creek; he there formed part of his troops in line of battle, and prepared some batteries opposite Chaddsford, whilst his light troops were attacking and driving before them a corps of riflemen, who had passed over to the right bank more closely to observe his motions. General Washington seeing the cannonade continue, without any disposition of the enemy to pass the river, concluded they had another object. He was informed that a great part of their army had marched higher up the creek, and were threatening his right; he felt the importance of keeping an attentive eye on all the movements of this corps; but the country was so covered with thickets, that the patrols could discover nothing. It must be observed that General Washington had a very small number of horse, and those he had sent to the right, towards *Dilworth*, to make discoveries on that side. He ordered an officer of whom he had a good opinion, to pass the river, and inform himself accurately of the route Lord Corn-

wallis was taking; for it was he who commanded this separate corps. The officer returned, and assured him that Cornwallis was marching by his right to join *Knyphausen*, on the side of Chaddsford. According to this report; the attack seemed to be determined on the left. Another officer was then sent, who reported that Cornwallis had changed his direction, and that he was rapidly advancing by the road leading to *Jefferies Ford*, two miles higher than *Birmingham Church*. General Sullivan was immediately ordered to march thither with all the troops of the right. Unfortunately the roads were badly reconnoitred, and not at all open: with great difficulty General Sullivan got through the woods, and when he came out of them to gain a small eminence near Birmingham Church, *he found the English columns mounting it on the opposite side*. It was no easy matter to range into order of battle such troops as his; he had neither the time to choose his position, nor to form his line. The English gained the eminence, drove the Americans back on the woods, to the edge of which they pursued,

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fued them, and they were totally dispersed.*

During the short time this action lasted, Lord Stirling and General *Conway* had time to form their brigade on pretty advantageous ground: it was a gentle rising, partly covered by the woods which bounded it; their left was protected by the same woods, and on the right of this rising ground, but a little in the rear, was the Virginia line, who were ranged in line of battle, on a high spot of ground, and on the edge of an open wood. The left column of the enemy, who had not been engaged with Sullivan, formed rapidly, and marched against these troops with as much order as vivacity and courage. The Americans made a very smart fire, which did not check the English, and it was not till the

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latter

* General Howe's account says, "General Washington detached General Sullivan to his right with 10,000 men, who took a strong position on the commanding ground above Birmingham Church;" and then relates the manœuvres to dislodge them. There is a material difference in these accounts.

TRANSLATOR.

latter were within twenty yards of them, that they gave way, and threw themselves into the woods. Lord Stirling, M. de la Fayette, and General Sullivan himself, after the defeat of his division fought with this body of troops, whose post was the most important, and made the longest resistance. It was here that M. de la Fayette was wounded in his left leg, in rallying the troops who were beginning to stagger. On the right, the Virginia line made some resistance; but the English had gained a height, from whence their artillery took them *en ècharpe*: this fire must have been very severe, for most of the trees bear the mark of bullets or cannon shot. The Virginians in their turn gave way, and the right was then entirely uncovered.

Though this was three miles from Chaddsford, General Knyphausen heard the firing of the artillery, and musquetry, and judging that the affair was serious, the confidence he had in the English and Hessian troops, made him conclude they were victorious. Towards five in the evening, he descended from the heights in

two

two columns,* one at *John's Ford*, which turned the battery of the Americans, and the other lower down at *Chaddsford*. The latter marched straight to the battery and took it. General Wayne, whose brigade was in line of battle, the left on an eminence, and the right drawing towards the battery, then made that right fall back, and strengthened the heights, thus forming a sort of change of front. In a country where there are neither open columns, nor successive positions to take, in case of accident, it is difficult to make any disposition for retreat. The different corps who had been beaten, all precipitated themselves into the *Chester Road*, where they formed but one column; artillery, baggage, and troops being confusedly mixed together. At the beginning of the night General Washington also took this road, and the English,

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* Several persons, amongst others some English officers who were prisoners, whom I have questioned, assured me that *Knyphausen's* corps passed the river only in one column at *Chaddsford*; and then separated into two, one of which turned the battery, and the other attacked it in front.

lish, content with their victory, did not disturb their retreat.

Such is the idea I have formed of the battle of Brandywine, from what I have heard from General Washington himself, from M. de la Fayette, Messieurs de Gimat, and de Mauduit, and from the Generals Wayne and Sullivan. I must observe, however, that there is a disagreement in some particulars; several persons, for example, pretend that Knyphausen, after passing the river, continued his march in one column to the battery, and it is thus marked in the English plan, which gives a false direction to that column; besides that General Washington and General Wayne assured me there were two, and that the left column turned the battery, which otherwise would not have been carried.* It is equally difficult to trace out on the plan, all the ground on which Cornwallis fought. The relations on both sides throw hardly

* Howe's account says, there were two divisions, one under Grant, the other under Knyphausen; the fourth and fifth regiments turned the battery. TRANSLATOR.

hardly any light upon it: I was obliged therefore to draw my conclusions from the different narratives, and to follow none of them implicitly.

Whilst we were examining the field of battle with the greatest minuteness, our servants went on to Chester to prepare dinner and apartments, but we soon followed them, and got there at four o'clock. The road did not appear long to me; for chance having separated M. de la Fayette, M. de Noailles, and myself from the rest of the company, we entered into a very agreeable conversation, which continued till we got to Chester. I could not help observing to them that after talking of nothing but war for three hours, we had suddenly changed the subject, and got on that of Paris, and all sorts of discussions relative to our private societies. This transition was truly French, but it does not prove that we are less fond of war, than other nations, only that we like our friends better. We were scarcely arrived at Chester, before we saw some state barges or boats coming down the river, which
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the President had sent to conduct us back to Philadelphia, it being our plan to remount the Delaware next day, in order to examine the Fort of *Redbank*, and Fort *Mifflin*, as well as the other posts which had served for the defence of the river. An officer of the American navy who was come with these barges, to conduct us, informed us that two vessels were arrived at Philadelphia in thirty-five days from L'Orient. The hopes of receiving letters, or news from Europe, almost tempted us to relinquish our projects, and set out immediately for Philadelphia; but as the weather was fine, and we should have the tide in our favour next day, which rendered our voyage more easy, we determined to remain at Chester, and M. de la Fayette sent off a man and a horse to Philadelphia, to bring back news, and letters, if there were any. This courier returned before nine; and only brought us a line from the Chevalier de la Luzerne, by which we learnt that these ships had no letters; but that the captains assured him, that Mon-

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sieur de Castries was made minister of the marine.

Whilst the courier was going and coming, we had got to the inn, where dinner and lodgings were prepared.* The exterior of this house is not very tempting, and several of the company were preparing to look out elsewhere, but after a minute examination, we found room enough for a dozen masters, as many servants, and nineteen horses. In addition to our company we had the Major who met us on the field of battle of Brandywine, and the officer who had brought us the barges. We had an excellent dinner, and very good wine. The tea, which followed pretty close on dinner, succeeded as well; so that all my fellow travellers were in the best humour, and so gay as never to cease laughing, singing, and dancing during the whole evening. The people of the house, who saw nothing in this company but two General officers, one French, the other American, accom-

* Mrs. *Withy's* inn at Chester is one of the best on the Continent, and a favourite house for parties of pleasure from Philadelphia.

accompanied by their *families*, and not a society of friends joyous to meet together in another hemisphere, could not conceive how it was possible to be so gay without being drunk, and looked upon us as people descended from the moon. This evening, which was lengthened to eleven o'clock, terminated well, for we had excellent beds, such as one might expect to find in a well-furnished country house. We rose at six in the morning, and assembled in the dining-room, where a good breakfast was prepared for us by candle light. At seven we embarked, and crossing the Delaware, obliquely a little higher up, we landed at *Billingsport*. This is a fort constructed in 1776, to support the left of the first barrier of the chevaux de frise, destined to block the passage of the river. This post was of no use, for the fortifications having been commenced on too extensive a plan for the number of troops which could be spared, it was thought proper to abandon it. They have since been reduced, which is the better, as they are now removed from some points which commanded the

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the fort. The present situation of affairs not drawing the attention of Government to this quarter, the fortifications are rather neglected. All the battery there was, consisted of one pretty good brass mortar, and five eighteen pounders (English twenty-fours), which *Major Armstrong*, who commands on the river, and came to receive me, fired on my arrival. When America has more money, and leisure, she will do well not to neglect this post, as well as all those for the defence of the river. For this war once terminated, she will see no more European armies on the Continent, and all she can have to fear from England, in case of a rupture with her, will be a few maritime expeditions, the sole object of which can be to destroy shipping, to ravage the country, and even to burn the towns within reach of the sea. Unfortunately Billingsport belongs to the state of Jersey, which can reap no advantage from it; and that of Pennsylvania, whose safety it would constitute, has no other means to employ towards fortifying it than its own request, and the recommendations of

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of Congress, which are not always attended to. However this may be, Philadelphia took other precautions for her defence, which depended only on the state of Pennsylvania, and to this advantage is united that of an excellent position, which will soon be made impregnable; I mean Fort Mifflin, whither we went on leaving Billingsport, still ascending the river. The isle on which it is built, and that called *Mud Island*, support the right of a second barrier of chevaux de frise, the left of which is defended by the Fort of *Red Bank*; * but it must be observed that the barrier only blocked the main channel of the river, the only passage by which it was thought that vessels could pass. †

Near

* This fort, too, is liable to the same difficulties with Billingsport, being on the Jersey side.

TRANSLATOR.

† The person principally employed in sinking the chevaux de frise, and in securing the passage of the river, was one *White*, who is supposed to have left this channel open designedly, as he afterwards turned out a decided traitor, went over to the enemy, and distinguished himself by every act of hostile virulence against his country.

TRANSLATOR.

Near the right bank is *Hog Island*, about two miles long, the surface of which, like that of most of the islands in the Delaware, is so low, that at high water, nothing is to be seen but the tops of the reeds with which it is covered. Between this island, and the main land, a small passage remained open, but the Americans were persuaded that there was not water enough for any ship with guns to pass it. At the extremity of this channel, and in remounting it, we leave on the left a marshy ground, so surrounded by creeks, and inlets, as to form a real island, called *Province Island*.* This post was in the possession of the enemy; who established batteries there, which incommoded those of Fort Mifflin, but not sufficiently to make the Americans abandon it.

The English army were at that time in a singular situation: they had purchased and maintained possession of Philadelphia at

* This is one of the richest spots of land in America, and being part of the proprietary estate, was parcelled out, and sold in lots by the Assembly of the State.

at the price of two bloody battles; but they were still shut up between the Schuylkill and the Delaware, having in their front Washington's army, which kept them in awe, and behind them several forts occupied by the Americans, which shut the passage of the Delaware. A large city, however, and a whole army, must have subsistence; it became necessary therefore to open the communication by sea, and to secure the navigation of the river. When one recollects the innumerable obstacles the English had to surmount in the present war, it is difficult to assign the cause of their successes; but if we turn our eyes on all the unforeseen events which have deceived the expectation of the Americans, and frustrated their best concerted measures, one cannot but be persuaded that they were devoted to destruction, and that the alliance with France alone proved the means of their preservation. In this voyage, in particular, I saw fresh proofs of it every instant. When the place was pointed out to me where the *Augusta*, of sixty-four guns, took fire, and blew up in attempting to

to force the chevaux de frise, and further on, the remains of the *Merlin*, of two and twenty, which ran ashore in the same action, and was burnt by the English themselves, whilst the Hessians were vainly sacrificing five or six hundred men before the Fort of Redbank, I figured to myself the English army starved in Philadelphia, retreating with disgrace and difficulty through the Jerseys, and my imagination already enjoyed the triumph of America. But of a sudden the scene changed, and I saw nothing but the fatality which collected towards the channel of Hog Island the waters long confined by the chevaux de frise, and recollected with pain, that on the 15th of November, three weeks after the fruitless attempts I have mentioned, the English succeeded in passing over the bar of this channel, the *Vigilant*, and another small ship of war; that they thus got up the river, and turned Fort Mifflin, the batteries of which they took from behind, and left the Americans no other resource but to abandon the defence of the chevaux de frise in all parts, and

make a precipitate retreat by the left shore of the Delaware.

Taught by sad experience, the Americans have provided in future against the misfortunes which cost them so dear. I saw them with pleasure extending the fortifications of Miffling's Island, so as to enclose the fort on every side, which will be surrounded also by the Delaware in place of a ditch; and as the garrison will have a safe asylum in souterrains, bomb-proof, this fort may henceforth be deemed impregnable. The plan of these works was given by M. du Portail; Major Armstrong shewed me them upon the spot, and I found them correspond perfectly with the just reputation of their author.

We now had to visit Redbank; for which purpose we had again to cross the Delaware, which in this place is a mile wide. The gentleman, who was to do the honour there, was impatient to arrive. We had amused ourselves by telling him that the morning being far spent, and the tide about to turn, we should be obliged to omit Redbank, and return directly to Philadelphia.

Philadelphia. This conductor, whom we diverted ourselves in tormenting, was M. du Pleffis Mauduit, who in the double capacity of engineer, and officer of artillery, had the charge of arranging and defending this post, under the orders of Colonel *Green*. On landing from our boat, he proposed conducting us to a Quaker's, whose house is half a musquet shot from the fort, or rather the ruins of the fort; for it is now destroyed, and there are scarcely any *reliefs* of it remaining. "This man, said M. de Mauduit, is a little of a tory; I was obliged to knock down his barn, and fell his fruit trees; but he will be glad to see M. de la Fayette, and will receive us well." We took him at his word, but never was expectation more completely deceived. We found our Quaker seated in the chimney corner, busied in cleaning herbs: he recollected M. de Mauduit, who named M. de la Fayette, and me, to him; but he did not deign to lift his eyes, nor to answer any of our introducer's discourse, which at first was complimentary, and at length

jocose. Except *Dido's* silence, I know nothing more severe; but we had no difficulty in accommodating ourselves to this bad reception, and made our way to the fort. We had not gone a hundred yards before we came to a small elevation, on which a stone was vertically placed, with this short epitaph: *Here lies buried Colonel Donop.* M. de Mauduit could not refrain from expressing his regret for this brave man, who died in his arms two days after the action; he assured us that we could not make a step without treading on the remains of some Hessian; for near three hundred were buried in the front of the ditch.

The Fort of Redbank was designed, as I have said above, to support the left of the chevaux de frise. The bank of the Delaware at this place is steep; but even this steepness allowed the enemy to approach the fort, under cover and without being exposed to the fire of the batteries. To remedy this inconvenience, several gallies armed with cannon, and destined to defend the chevaux de frise, were posted
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the whole length of the escarpement, and took it in reverse. The Americans, little practised in the art of fortifications, and always disposed to take works beyond their strength, had made those of Redbank too extensive. When M. de Mauduit obtained permission to be sent thither with Colonel Green, he immediately set about reducing the fortifications, by intersecting them from east to west, which transformed them into a sort of large redoubt nearly of a pentagonal form. A good earthen rampart raised to the height of the cordon, a fossé, and an abattis in front of the fossé, constituted the whole strength of this post, in which were placed *three hundred men*,* and fourteen pieces of cannon. The 22d of October, in the morning, they received intelligence that a detachment of two thousand five hundred Hessians were advancing; who were soon after perceived on the edge of a wood to the north of *Redbank*, nearly within cannon shot. Preparations were

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making

* General Howe calls them *about* 800 men.

making for the defence, when a Hessian officer advanced, preceded by a drum ; he was suffered to approach, but his harangue was so insolent that it only served to irritate the garrison, and inspire them with more resolution. “ *The King of England*, said “ *he, orders his rebellious subjects to lay down* “ *their arms, and they are warned, that if* “ *they stand the battle, no quarters whatever* “ *will be given.*” The answer was, that they accepted the challenge, and that there should be no quarter on either side. At four o’clock in the afternoon, the Hessians made a very brisk fire from a battery of cannon, and soon after they opened, and marched to the first entrenchment, from which, finding it abandoned, but not destroyed, they *imagined* they had driven the Americans. They then shouted *victoria*, waved their hats in the air, and advanced towards the redoubt. The same drummer, who a few hours before had come to summon the garrison, and had appeared as insolent as his officer, was at their head beating the march ; both he and that officer were knocked on the head by the first fire. The Hessians, however,

ever, still kept advancing within the first entrenchment, leaving the river on their right: they had already reached the abattis, and were endeavouring to tear up, or cut away the branches, when they were overwhelmed with a shower of musquet shot, which took them in front, and in flank; for as chance would have it, a part of the courtine of the old entrenchment, which had not been destroyed, formed a projection at this very part of the intersection. M. de Mauduit had contrived to form it into a fort of *caponiere*, (or trench with loop-holes) into which he threw some men, who flanked the enemy's left, and fired on them at close shot. Officers were seen every moment rallying their men, marching back to the abattis, and falling amidst the branches they were endeavouring to cut. Colonel Donop was particularly distinguished by the marks of the order he wore, by his handsome figure, and by his courage; he was also seen to fall like the rest. The Hessians, repulsed by the fire of the redoubt, attempted to secure themselves from it by attacking on the side of the escarpement, but the fire

from the gallies sent them back with a great loss of men. At length they relinquished the attack, and regained the wood in disorder.

Whilst this was passing on the north side, another column made an attack on the south, and, more fortunate than the other, passed the abattis, traversed the fossé, and mounted the berm; but they were stopped by the fraises, and M. de Mauduit running to this post as soon as he saw the first assailants give way, the others were obliged to follow their example. They still did not dare however to stir out of the fort, fearing a surprise; but M. de Mauduit wishing to replace some palisades which had been torn up; he sallied out with a few men, and was surprised to find about twenty Hessians standing on the berm, and stuck up against the shelving of the parapet. These soldiers, who had been bold enough to advance thus far, sensible that there was more risque in returning, and not thinking proper to expose themselves, were taken and brought into the fort. M. de Mauduit, after fixing
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the palifades, employed himself in repairing the abattis; he again sallied out with a detachment, and it was then he beheld the deplorable spectacle of the dead, and dying, heaped one upon another. A voice arose from amidst these carcases, and said in English; *whoever you are, draw me hence.* It was the voice of Colonel Donop: M. de Mauduit made the soldiers lift him up, and carry him into the fort, where he was soon known. He had his hip broken; but whether they did not consider his wound as mortal, or that they were heated by the battle, and still irritated at the menaces thrown out against them a few hours before, the Americans could not help saying, aloud: *Well! is it determined to give no quarter? I am in your hands,* replied the Colonel, *you may revenge yourselves.* M. de Mauduit had no difficulty in imposing silence, and employed himself only in taking care of the wounded officer. The latter, perceiving he spoke bad English, said to him: *you appear to me a foreigner, Sir, who are you?—A French officer,* replied the other.—*Je suis content,* said Donop, making use

use of our language, *je meurs entre les mains de l'honneur meme.* I am content; I die in the hands of honour itself. The next day he was removed to the Quaker's house, where he lived three days, during which he conversed frequently with M. de Mauduit. He told him that he had been long in friendship with M. de Saint-Germain, that he wished in dying to recommend to him his vanquisher, and benefactor. He asked for paper, and wrote a letter, which he delivered to M. de Mauduit, requiring of him, as the last favour, to acquaint him when he was about to die: the latter was soon under the necessity of acquitting himself of this sad duty: *it is finishing a noble career early,* said the Colonel; *but I die the victim of my ambition, and of the avarice of my sovereign.* Fifteen wounded officers were found, like him, upon the field of battle; M. de Mauduit had the satisfaction to conduct them himself to Philadelphia, where he was very well received by General Howe. By singular accident, it happened that the English that very day received indirect intelligence of the capitulation of Burgoyne,
of

of which he knew more than they. They pretended to give no credit to it: *you, who are a Frenchman, said they, speak freely, do you think it possible? I know,* replied he, *that the fact is so; explain it as you think proper.*

Perhaps I have dwelt too long on this event; but I shall not have to apologize to those who will partake of the pleasing satisfaction I experience, in fixing my eyes upon the triumphs of America, and in discovering my countrymen amongst those who have reaped her laurels. At present I hasten my return to Philadelphia, where, on my arrival, I had only time to dress myself to attend the Chevalier de la Luzerne, and the companions of my journey, to dinner at Mr. Huntington's, the President of Congress. Mrs. Huntington, a good looking, lusty woman, but not young, did the honours of the table, that is to say, helped every body without saying a word. I did not remain long after dinner, having a little snug rendezvous, which I was not inclined to miss. The reader will think it time for me to throw some variety into
this

this journal; but I am obliged to confess that this rendezvous was with Mr. Samuel Adams. We had promised ourselves at our last interview to set an evening apart for a tranquil tête-à-tête, and this was the day appointed. Our conversation commenced with a topic of which he might have spared himself the discussion; the justice of the cause he was engaged in. I am clearly of opinion that the parliament of England had no right to tax America without her consent, but I am more clearly convinced that when a whole people say *we will be free*, it is difficult to demonstrate they are in the wrong. Be that as it may, Mr. Adams very satisfactorily proved to me, that New England, comprehending the states of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, were not peopled with any view to commerce and aggrandisement, but wholly by individuals who fled from persecution, and sought an asylum at the extremity of the world, where they might be free to live, and follow their opinions; that it was of their own accord, that those new colonists put themselves under the protection

tection of England ; that the mutual relationship, springing from this connection, was expressed in their charters, and that the right of imposing, or exacting a revenue of any kind was not comprized in them.

From this subject we passed to a more interesting one; the form of government which should be given to each state ; for it is only on account of the future, that it is necessary to take a retrospect of the past. The revolution has taken place, and the republic is beginning ; it is an infant newly born, the question is how to nourish, and rear it to maturity. I expressed to Mr. Adams some anxiety for the foundations on which the new constitutions are formed, and particularly that of Massachusetts. Every citizen, said I, every man who pays taxes, has a right to vote in the election of representatives, who form the legislative body, and who may be called the sovereign power. All this is very well for the present moment, because every citizen is pretty equally at his ease, or may be so in a short time ; but the success of commerce, and even of agriculture, will introduce riches amongst you, and
riches

riches will produce inequality of fortunes, and of property. Now, wherever this inequality exists, the real force will invariably be on the side of property ; so that if the influence in government be not proportioned to that property, there will always be a contrariety, a combat between the form of government, and its natural tendency, the right will be on one side, and the power on the other ; the balance then only can exist between the two equally dangerous extremes, of aristocracy and anarchy. Besides, the ideal worth of men must ever be comparative : an individual without property is a discontented citizen, when the state is poor ; place a rich man near him, he dwindles into a clown. What will result then, one day, from vesting the right of election in this class of citizens ? The source of civil broils, or corruption, perhaps both at the same time. The following was pretty nearly the answer of Mr. Adams. I am very sensible of the force of your objections ; we are not what we should be, we should labour rather for the future, than for the present moment. I build a country house, and
have

have infant children; I ought doubtless to construct their apartments with an eye to the time in which they shall be grown up and married: but we have not neglected this precaution. In the first place, I must inform you, that this new constitution was proposed and agreed to in the most legitimate manner of which there is any example since the days of Lycurgus. A committee chosen from the members of the legislative body, then existing, and which might be considered as a provisional government, was named to prepare a new code of laws. As soon as it was prepared, each county or district was required to name a committee to examine this plan: it was recommended to them to send it back at the expiration of a certain time, with their observations. These observations having been discussed by the committee, and the necessary alterations made, the plan was sent back to each particular committee. When they had all approved it, they received orders to communicate it to the people at large, and to demand their suffrages. If two-thirds of the voters approved it, it was to have the force of law, and

and be regarded as the work of the people themselves; of two and twenty thousand suffrages, a much greater proportion than two-thirds was in favour of the new constitution. Now these were the principles on which it was established: a state is never free but when each citizen is bound by no law whatever that he has not approved of, either by himself, or by his representatives; but to represent another man, it is necessary to have been elected by him; every citizen therefore should have a part in elections. On the other hand, it would be in vain for the people to possess the right of electing representatives, were they restrained in the choice of them to a particular class; it is necessary therefore not to require too much property as a qualification for the *representative of the people*. Accordingly the house of representatives, which form the legislative body, and the true *sovereign*, are the people themselves represented by their delegates. Thus far the government is purely democratical; but it is the permanent and enlightened will of the people which should constitute law, and not

not the passions and fallies to which they are too subject. It is necessary to moderate their first emotions, and bring them to the test of inquiry and reflection. This is the important business entrusted with the Governor and Senate, who represent with us the negative power, vested in England in the upper-house, and even in the crown, with this difference only, that in our new constitution the senate has a right to reject a law, and the governor to suspend the promulgation, and return it for a reconsideration; but these forms complied with, if, after this fresh examination, the people persist in their resolution, and there is then, not as before, a mere majority, but two-thirds of the suffrages in favour of the law, the governor and senate are compelled to give it their sanction. Thus this power moderates, without destroying the authority of the people, and such is the organization of our republic, as to prevent the springs from breaking by too rapid a movement, without ever stopping them entirely. Now, it is here we have given all its weight to property. A man must have a pretty consider-

VOL. I. T. as before

able property to vote for a member of the Senate; he must have a more considerable one to be himself eligible. Thus the democracy is pure and entire in the assembly, which represents the *sovereign*; and the aristocracy, or, if you will, the *optimacy*, is to be found only in the moderating power, where it is the more necessary, as men never watch more carefully over the state than when they have a great interest in its destiny. As to the power of commanding armies, it ought neither to be vested in a great, nor even in a small number of men: the Governor alone can employ the forces by sea and land according to the necessity; but the land forces will consist only in the militia, which, as it is composed of the people themselves, can never act against the people.*

Such

* As there appears to be some little inaccuracy in this account of the conversation, the reader is referred to the *Constitution of the Massachusetts*, as republished in England with those of the other states, where he will see the respective privileges and powers of the *Senate and Governor and Council* clearly discriminated, which are here confounded. The Translator has endeavoured to free the original from its ob-

Such was the idea Mr. Adams gave me of his own work,* for it is he who had the greatest part in the formation of the new laws. It is said, however, that before his credit was employed to get them accepted, it was necessary to combat his private opinion, and to make him abandon systems in which he loved to stray, for less sublime, but more practicable projects. This citizen, otherwise so respectable, has been frequently reproached with consulting his library, rather than the present circumstances, and of always beginning by the Greeks and Romans, to get at the whigs and tories: if this be true, I shall only say that study has also its inconveniences, but not such as are important, since Mr. Samuel Adams, heretofore the enemy of regular troops, and the

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most

security, *the senate* being there wholly overlooked, and its duties blended with those of the Governor and Council; and materially to preserve the drift of Mr. Adams's argument.

TRANSLATOR.

* I have some reason to think that the admirable form of government for Massachusetts Bay, is *not* the work of Mr. Samuel Adams, but of Mr. *John Adams*, the present Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States, in England.

TRANSLATOR.

most extravagant partisan of the democracy, at present employs all his influence to maintain an army, and to establish a mixed government. Be that as it may, I departed well content with this conversation, which was only interrupted by a glass of Madeira, a dish of tea, and an old American General, now a member of Congress, who lodges with Mr. Adams.

I knew that there was a ball at the Chevalier de la Luzerne's, which made me less in a hurry to return thither; it was, however, a very agreeable assembly; for it was given to a private society, on the occasion of a marriage. There were near twenty women, twelve or fourteen of whom were dancers; each of them having her partner, as is the custom in America. Dancing is said to be at once the emblem of gaiety and of love; here it seems to be the emblem of legislation, and of marriage; of legislation, inasmuch as places are marked out, the country dances named, and every proceeding provided for, calculated, and submitted to regulation; of marriage, as it furnishes each lady with a partner, with whom she dances

dances the whole evening, without being allowed to take another. It is true that every severe law requires mitigation, and that it often happens, that a young lady after dancing the two or three first dances with her partner, may make a fresh choice, or accept of the invitation she has received; but still the comparison holds good, for it is a marriage in the *European fashion*. Strangers have generally the privilege of being complimented with the handsomest women. The Comte de Damas had Mrs. Bingham for his partner, and the Vicomte de Noailles, Miss Shippen. Both of them, like true philosophers, testified a great respect for the manners of the country, by not quitting their handsome partners the whole evening; in other respects they were the admiration of all the assembly, from the grace and nobleness with which they danced; I may even assert, to the honour of my country, that they surpassed a Chief Justice of Carolina (Mr. Pendleton) and two members of Congress, one of whom (Mr. Duane) passed however for being by 10 per cent. more lively than all the other

T 3 dancers.

dancers. The ball was suspended, towards midnight, by a supper, served in the manner of coffee, on several different tables. On passing into the dining-room, the Chevalier de la Luzerne presented his hand to Mrs. Morris, and gave her the precedence, an honour pretty generally bestowed on her, as she is the richest woman in the city, and all ranks here being equal, men follow their natural bent, by giving the preference to riches. The ball continued till two in the morning, as I learnt the next morning on rising, for I had seen too many attacks and battles the day before not to have learnt to make a timely retreat.

Our young folks standing in need of repose after their journey and exercise of the evening, did not appear at breakfast. In their stead, we had an old Quaker of the name of *Benezet*, whose diminutive figure, and humble and scanty physiognomy, formed a perfect contrast to Mr. Pendleton. This Mr. Benezet may rather be regarded as the model, than as a specimen of the sect of Quakers: wholly occupied with the welfare of mankind, his charity and generosity

rosity made him be held in great consideration in happier times, when the virtues alone sufficed to render the citizen illustrious. At present the noise of arms deafens the ears against the sighs of charity, and the amor patriæ has prevailed over the love of humanity. Benezet, however, still exercises his benevolence: he came to get some information respecting the new methods invented in France of restoring drowned persons to life. I promised not only to send them to him from Newport, but to transmit to him such a box, with the necessaries, as our government has distributed in the sea-port towns. Confidence being established between us, we fell on the topic of the miseries of war. "Friend, says he
"to me, I know thou art a man of letters,
"and a member of the French Academy:
"the men of letters have written a great
"many good things of late; they have
"attacked errors and prejudices, and,
"above all, intolerance; will they not
"endeavour too, to disgust men with the
"horrors of war, and to make them live
"together like friends and brethren?"—

T 4

"Thou

“Thou art not deceived, Friend, replied
“I, when thou buildest some hope on
“the progress of enlightened philosophy.
“Many active hands are labouring at the
“grand edifice of public happiness; but vainly
“will they employ themselves in finishing
“some parts of it, as long as there is a
“deficiency at the base, and that base, thou
“hast said it, is universal peace. As for into-
“lerance and persecution, it is true that these
“two enemies of the human race, are not
“bound by strong enough chains; but I
“will whisper a word in thy ear, of which
“thou wilt not perhaps feel all the force,
“though thou art well acquainted with
“the French; *they are out of fashion*; I
“should even believe them to be on the
“point of annihilation, but for some little
“circumstances thou art not informed of;
“which are, *that they who attack them are*
“*now and then imprisoned, and Abbies of a*
“*hundred thousand livres a year bestowed on*
“*such as favour them.*” “A hundred
“thousand livres a year! cried Benezet,
“there is wherewithal to build hospitals
“and establish manufactures; this doubt-
“less

“ less is the use they make of their riches.”

“ No, Friend, replied I, persecution must

“ be kept in pay ; though it must be con-

“ fessed that it is but indifferently paid,

“ for the most splendid of these persecutors

“ content themselves with giving a pension

“ of ten or twelve hundred livres to a few

“ satirical poets, or journalists, enemies of

“ letters, whose works are greatly read, but

“ little fold.”—“ Friend, says the Quaker,

“ this persecution is a strange thing : I can

“ hardly believe what has happened to

“ myself. My father was a Frenchman,

“ and I am a native of thy country. It is

“ now sixty years, since he was obliged to

“ seek an asylum in England, taking with

“ him his children, the only treasure he

“ could save in his misfortunes. Justice,

“ or what is so called in thy country, or-

“ dered him to be hung in effigy, for

“ explaining the Gospel differently from

“ thy priests. My father was not much

“ better pleased with those of England ;

“ wishing to get out of the way of all

“ hierarchy, he came and settled in this

“ country, where I led a happy life until

“ this

“ this war broke out. I have long forgot
“ all the persecutions my family under-
“ went. I love thy nation, because it is
“ mild and sensible, and as for thee,
“ Friend, I know that thou serveest huma-
“ nity as much as in thy power. When
“ thou shalt get to Europe, engage thy
“ brethren to second thee, and, in the mean
“ time, permit me to place under thy
“ protection our brethren of Rhode Island.”

He then recommended to me specifically the Quakers living in that state, and who are pretty numerous; after which he took leave, desiring my permission to send me some pamphlets, *in his way*, which were principally apologies for his sect. I assured him I would read them with great pleasure, and he did not fail to send them the next morning.

Of whatever sect a man may be who is inflamed with an ardent love of humanity, he is undoubtedly a respectable being; but I must confess that it is difficult to bestow upon this sect in general, that esteem which cannot be refused to some individuals. The law observed by many of them, of saying
neither

neither *you*, nor *sir*, is far from giving them a tone of simplicity and candour. I know not whether it be to compensate for that sort of rusticity, that they in general assume a smooth and wheedling tone, which is altogether Jesuitical. Nor does their conduct belie this resemblance: concealing their indifference for the public welfare under the cloak of religion, they are sparing of blood, 'tis true, especially of their own people;* but they trick both parties out

* In confirmation of this remark, I cannot avoid referring to a circumstance which made a considerable noise at the time, and has been grossly perverted to the discredit of American humanity. Every reader attentive to the events of the war in that country, must recollect the execution of *Carlisle* and *Roberts*, two considerable Quakers, after the evacuation of Philadelphia by General Clinton; the barbarity of putting to death two members of a sect so peaceable and inoffensive, who *had not borne arms*, and whose principles forbid an active opposition to *any* form of government, was much enlarged upon. In justice to America, and for the benefit of future historians, I shall give the fact, the truth of which will bear inquiry, as I had it from men of every party and description in that city, and leave the decision to every impartial man. The Quakers in America, I speak generally, had long belied their principles, and

out of their money, and that without either shame or decency. It is a received maxim in trade, to beware of them, and this opinion, which is well founded, will become still more necessary. In fact, nothing can be

covertly and openly done every thing in their power to thwart the measures adopted by a vast majority of their countrymen, then in possession of the government; their secret intrigues and open defiance were long overlooked and borne with, until danger became so critical as to demand some precautions for the common safety. A few of the most *active* spirits amongst these pacific and *passive* sectaries were arrested, and sent from the immediate scene of action into Virginia, where they suffered only a temporary restraint from mischief. Carlisle and Roberts, though well known for a malignant hatred to the cause of America, unfortunately for them, escaping this temporary exile, continued their clandestine practices until General Howe got possession of the city, when they no longer set any bounds to their ineteracy. They were both employed by the General, or his honest and grateful agent *Mr. Galloway*, in the administration of the police, or in other words, they undertook, *Carlisle* in particular, to discriminate between the Loyalists and the Friends to America. *Carlisle* granted permissions to pass the lines, watched at the gates, to point out obnoxious persons coming in from the country, who were frequently committed to prison on his bare suggestion and exercised, in

be worse than enthusiasm in its downfall; for what can be its substitute, but hypocrisy? That monster, so well known in Europe, finds but too easy an access to all religions;

short, the office of sub-inquisitor to Mr. Joseph Galloway. Nor was this the only method by which they manifested the peaceable principles of their sect. General Howe having received information of a party of militia lying in the woods, in the county of Bucks, at sixteen miles distance, under General Lacy, dispatched Lieutenant Colonel Abercrombie with a considerable detachment by the Frankfort road to attack them; and one or both of these harmless Quakers, who would not *bear arms* for the wealth of Britain, conscientiously undertook to conduct this man of blood to a successful surprise and massacre of their own countrymen. These, and a variety of other facts being proved against them, after the evacuation of the town, where they had the *presumption* to remain, and there being an evident necessity for making an example of these most dangerous of all enemies, lenity would have been as ill timed as unjust to the suffering citizens. Such, I am sorry to say it, was the undoubted conduct of too many of this once respectable body, during the war, a conduct, which must not only be condemned by every honourable and feeling mind, but I may venture to say, is wholly repugnant to the principles of a Lettsom, a Fothergill, a Barclay, or a *William Penn*; for, it may be pronounced with no intolerant spirit,

religions; he found none, however, in a company of young ladies, who were invited, as well as myself, to drink tea with Mrs. Cunningham. They were well dressed, seemed desirous of pleasing, and it is fair to conclude, that their private sentiments were in unison with their appearance. The mistress of the house is amiable, and her conversation graceful and interesting. This assembly recalled to my mind in every respect, those of Holland, and Geneva, where one meets with gaiety without indecency, and the wish to please without coquetry.

On Sunday the 10th I had resolved to make a circuit through the churches, and different

that in cases of critical emergency, no society can endure such members. In opposition, however, to newspaper reports, and their cries of persecution, I can myself bear testimony to the unpunished license these Quietests gave their tongues in the very seat of Congress, and in defiance of the Assembly of the State, and to their ostentatious display of the portraits of the King and Queen of England, which, however, there is every reason to believe, was more the result of obstinacy, and the spirit of contradiction, than of loyalty or reason, in this selfish set of people.

TRANSLATOR.

different places of worship. Unluckily the different sects, who agree in neither point, take the same hour to assemble the faithful, so that in the morning I was only able to visit the Quakers meeting, and in the afternoon the church of England. The hall the Quakers meet in is square; there are, on every side, and parallel with the walls, benches and desks, by which means they are placed opposite to each other, without either altar or pulpit to attract the attention. As soon as they are assembled, one of the more elderly makes an extempore prayer, of whatever comes uppermost in his mind; silence is then observed until some man or woman feels inspired, and rises to speak. Travellers must be taken at their word, however extraordinary their motives. Like Ariosto, I shall recount prodigies, *diro maraviglia*: but it is a fact that I arrived at the moment a woman was done holding forth; she was followed by a man who talked a great deal of nonsense about internal grace, the illumination of the spirit, and the other dogmas of his sect, which he bandied about, but took special care not to explain them; and at length finished his discourse

discourse to the great content of the brethren, and the sisterhood, who had all of them a very inattentive and listless air. After seven or eight minutes silence, an old man went on his knees, dealt us out a very unmeaning prayer, and dismissed the audience.*

On

* Mention has been frequently made in the public prints of the new sect of *shakers* in Massachusetts Bay, who carry their frantic orgies to still more ridiculous and licentious excesses than the pristine Quakers, with George Fox at their head; but I have seen no notice taken of another, which sprung up at Rhode Island about the year 1780. A very comely young woman is, or pretends to be, impressed with the belief that she is in her person *the saviour of the world* revived, and travels from place to place, attended by twelve young men, whom she calls *her apostles*: who, if the general assertion be credited, have literally followed the precept of "making eunuchs of themselves for Christ's sake." General Gates told me he heard her preach at Rhode Island; and I made an attempt to hear her at Philadelphia in October 1782, but the crowd was so great, and, what is very uncommon in America, so turbulent, that it was impossible to get near the place of worship. Two of her apostles came to the house I boarded in, to obtain lodgings for her, and some of the brethren; by which means I had an opportunity of seeing a specimen of them, but they would enter into no conversation: they were tall, handsome

On quitting this melancholy, homespun assembly, the service of the English church appeared to me a sort of *opera*, as well for the music as the decorations: a handsome pulpit placed before a handsome organ; a handsome minister in that pulpit, reading, speaking, and singing with a grace entirely theatrical, a number of young women answering melodiously from the pit and boxes, (for the two side galleries form a sort of boxes) a soft and agreeable vocal music, with excellent sonatas, played alternately on the organ; all this, compared to the quakers, the anabaptists, the presbyterians, &c. appeared to me rather like a little paradise itself, than as the road to it. If however we consider the different sects, whether rigid, or frivolous, but all imperious, all exclusive, we think we see men reading in the great book of nature, like *Montauciel* at

young men, the youngest not above nineteen, with large round flapped hats, and long flowing strait locks, with a sort of melancholy wildness in their countenances, and an effeminate, dejected air, which seemed to justify the truth of what I believe literally to be their unfortunate situation. TRANSLATOR.

VOL. I.

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his lesson, when instead of *vous etes un blanc bec*, he persists in repeating *trompette blessé*. It is a million to one that a man should hit upon a line of writing without knowing how to spell his letters: but should he come to ask your assistance, beware how you meddle with him; it is better to leave him in his error than to cut throats with him.*

I shall only mention my dinner this day at Mrs. Powell's, to say that it was excellent and agreeable in every respect. The conversation carried us so far into the evening, that it was near eleven when I returned home.

M. de la Fayette had made a party with the Vicomte de Noailles and the Comte de Damas, to go the next morning, first to German-Town (which the two latter had not yet seen), and from thence to the old camp at *Whitemarsh*. Though I had already viewed the former, I had no objection to going over it a second time, besides that I was curious to see the complete *Whitemarsh*.

* For this allusion the reader is referred to the humorous prison scene, between *Montauciel* and the *Deserter*, in the comic opera of that name. *Montauciel* is the *Skirmish* of the English theatre, in their copy from the French. TRANSLATOR.

marsh. It is that which was occupied by General Washington after the unsuccessful attempt of the 7th of October. As this was a bold position which the English never dared to attack, it is very celebrated in the American army, where they assert that they had *no other entrenchment than two redoubts*. The fact is, that the position is excellent, and does great honour to General Washington, who could discover it, as if by instinct, through those woods with which the country was then covered; but it is no less true, that General Howe had every reason for not attacking it, and, amongst others, for the following: descending from the heights of German town, there are very thick woods; on coming out of them, to the west, is a pretty high hill, the foot of which is watered by a rivulet, with steep banks, which turns towards the north and protects the right of the camp. Six pieces of cannon were placed on this eminence, with four hundred men, who formed an advanced *pion*. It is called Chesnut-Hill, from a little church of that name, situated on its summit; behind this eminence, and behind the

woods which stretch from east to west, the ground rises considerably, and forms two hills with a gentle declivity, which commands Chestnut church; here the army was encamped. These hills are only separated by a small bottom; each summit was fortified with a redoubt, and the slope of it defended by an abattis. The hill on the left was still further protected by a rivulet, which might be increased at pleasure, as it ran behind the camp, and it was easy to make the dams necessary for raising the waters. The front of this position, 'tis true, is covered with wood; but these woods terminate at three hundred yards from the line formed abreast; an enemy therefore must have come out of them uncovered, and how get through a wood where there is no road, and which was filled with militia and *riflemen*? I pointed out the more minutely all the advantages of this position, that I might amuse myself in exaggerating them to M. de la Fayette, to convince him that he was a *Gascon* as well as the rest of them. He owned to me that the camp was a good one, and that if the English had given them
room

room for pleafantry, it was only by inserting in their relations that the Rebels were fo well *entrenched* that it was impoffible to attack them. But we were unanimous in our conclufion, that the more respectable this pofition was, the more honour it did to General Washington, who had divined, rather than difcovered it. This was really an eagle's eye view, for it feems as if he muft have hovered above the trees to examine the ground concealed by them.*

Having taken our view, we returned briskly to the Chevalier de la Luzerne's, where dinner came very a propos, after being eight hours on horfeback, and riding fix and thirty miles. In the afternoon we drank tea with Mifs Shippen. This was the firft time, fince my arrival in America, that I had feen mufic introduced into fociety, and mix with its amusements. Mifs Rutledge † played on the harpfichord, and

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played

* See General Howe's account of his *attempt* upon this camp. TRANSLATOR.

† Mifs Rutledge is fince married to M. de Marbois, who is at prefent Secretary to M. de la Luzerne in his government of St. Domingo. TRANSLATOR.

played very well. Miss Shippen sung with timidity, but with a pretty voice. Mr. Ottawa, Secretary to M. de la Luzerne, sent for his harp;* he accompanied Miss Shippen, and played several pieces. Music naturally leads to dancing: the Vicomte de Noailles took down a violin, which was mounted with harp strings, and he made the young ladies dance, whilst their mothers and other grave personages chatted in another room. When music, and the fine arts come to prosper at Philadelphia; when society once becomes easy and gay there, and they learn to accept of pleasure when it presents itself, without a formal invitation, then may foreigners enjoy all the advantages peculiar to their manners and government, without envying any thing in Europe.†

The

* He is now Consul General and Chargé des Affaires at Philadelphia in the absence of the Chevalier de la Luzerne.—The Chevalier does not return to America, being appointed to the government of St. Domingo, and no other Minister is yet named.

TRANSLATOR.

† It is very certain that any person educated in Europe, and accustomed to the luxury of music and

The 12th, in the morning, a new cavalcade, and a new reconnoitring party. M. de la Fayette was to do the honours of this. The just interest he inspires, has given still more celebrity to an event, of itself singular enough. The alliance with France being already public in June 1778, it seemed probable that the English would not delay the evacuation of Philadelphia. In this state of things, though it was General Washington's business to risque nothing,

U 4 it

the fine arts, and to their enjoyment in the two capitals of France and England, must find a great void in these particulars in America. This the Translator experienced during his residence in that country, and felt the contrast with greater force on his return to Europe. After a long absence, in which he heard scarcely any other music than church hymns, the cannon, and the drum; or viewing any paintings but the little sketches of *Cimetiere*, or the portraits of *Peele*, at Philadelphia: on his arrival at Bourdeaux after the peace, the common orchestra at the theatre afforded him more exquisite delight than he had ever felt from one of *Haydon's* best symphonies at Bach's, or than he should now feel perhaps at the Westminster commemoration of *Handle*; and the very moderate exhibition at the Louvre, was, to him, a groupe of *Raphaels*, *Titians*, and *Vandykes*.

TRANSLATOR.

it was important nevertheless to watch the motions of the enemy. M. de la Fayette received orders to march from *Valley Forge*, with two thousand infantry, fifty dragoons, and as many savages, to pass the Schuylkill, and take post on a height called *Barrenbill*, about twelve miles distant from Philadelphia. The position was critical, he might be attacked, or turned, by three different roads; but M. de la Fayette guarded the most direct of the three; a Brigadier General of Militia, named *Potter*, had orders to watch the second, and patrols kept an eye upon the third, which was the most circuitous. Though these precautions seemed sufficient at first sight, they must not have been deemed so by General Howe; for he thought he had now fairly caught *the Marquis*, and even carried his gasconade so far as to invite ladies to meet him at supper the next day, and whilst the principal part of the officers were at the play,* he

* The English had brought with them from New York, a company of players, and the officers themselves frequently performed the principal characters. —[An excellent trait this for the future historians of

he put in movement the main body of his forces, which he marched in three columns. The first, commanded by General Howe in person, took the direct road to Barrenhill, passing by *Schuylkill Falls*, and keeping along the river; the second, led by General Grey, kept the high road of German-Town, and was to fall on M. de la Fayette's left flank; the third, under the orders of General Grant, made a long circuit, marching first by Frankfort, then turning upon Oxford, to reach the only ford by which the Americans could retreat.

This complicated march was executed the more easily, as the English had positive intelligence that the militia did not occupy the post assigned them. Fortunately for M. de la Fayette, two officers had set out early from the camp to go into the Jerseys, where they had business; these officers having successively fallen in with two columns

the civil war, as well as the *meschianza*, that illustrious act of folly and infatuation: facts truly characteristic of the dissipation, and decline of a great people.

TRANSLATOR.

columns of the enemy, resolved to return to the camp through the woods, as quick as possible. General Howe's column was not long in reaching the advanced posts of M. de la Fayette; which gave rise to a laughable enough adventure. The fifty savages he had with him, were placed in an ambuscade, in the woods, after their manner, that is to say, lying as close as rabbits. Fifty English dragoons, who had never seen any Indians, marching at the head of the column, entered the wood where they were hid, who on their part had never seen dragoons. Up they start, raising a horrible cry, throw down their arms, and escape by swimming across the Schuylkill. The dragoons, on the other hand, as much terrified as they were, turned about their horses, and did not recover their panic till they got back to Philadelphia. M. de la Fayette, now finding that he was turned, concluded very justly like a warrior, that the column marched against him would not be the first to make the attack, and that it would wait till the other was in readiness. He immediately

diately changed his front, therefore, and took a good position opposite the second column, having before him Barrenhill church, and behind him the opening which served as a retreat. But he had scarcely occupied this position, before he learnt that General Grant was on his march to the Schuylkill Ford, and was already nearer to it than himself. Nothing remained but to retreat: but the only road he had, made him approach the column of General Grant, and exposed him to be attacked by it in front, whilst Grey and Howe fell upon his rear. The road, 'tis true, soon turning to the left, became separated by a small valley from that General Grant was on, but this valley itself was crossed by several roads, and it must, in short, be traversed to reach the Ford. In this situation, his own greatness of mind alone suggested to the young soldier the proper conduct, as well as consummate experience could possibly have done. He knew that more honour is lost, than time gained, in converting a *retreat* into a *flight*. He continued his march, therefore, in so tranquil and regular an order, that he imposed

posed on General Grant, and made him believe, that he was sustained by Washington's whole army, which was waiting for him at the end of the defile. On the other hand, Howe himself, on arriving on the heights of Barrenhill, was deceived by the first manœuvre of M. de la Fayette; for seeing the Americans in line of battle, on the very spot where the second column was to appear, he imagined it was General Grey who had got possession of this position, and thus lost some minutes in looking through his glass, and in sending to reconnoitre. General Grey also lost time in waiting for the right and left columns. From all these mistakes it followed, that M. de la Fayette had the opportunity of effecting his retreat, as if by enchantment, and he passed the river with all his artillery without losing a man. Six alarm guns, which were fired at the army, on the first news of this attack, served, I believe, to keep the enemy in awe, who imagined the whole American army were in march. The English, after finding the bird flown, returned to Philadelphia, spent with fatigue, and ashamed of having
done

done nothing. The ladies did not see M. de la Fayette, and General Howe himself arrived too late for supper.

In reciting this affair, I give at the same time an account of my ride, for I followed the exact road of the left column, which leads to Schuylkill Falls, where there is a sort of scattered village, composed of several beautiful country houses; amongst others, that of the Chevalier de la Luzerne.* A
small

* The beautiful banks of the Schuylkill are every where covered with elegant country houses; amongst others those of Mr. Penn, the late proprietor, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Peters, late Secretary to the Board of War, are on the most delightful situations. The tasty little box of the last gentleman is on the most enchanting spot that nature can embellish, and besides the variegated beauties of the rural banks of the Schuylkill, commands the Delaware, and the shipping, mounting and descending it, where it is joined at right angles by the former. From hence is the most romantic ride up the river to the Falls, in which the opposite bank is likewise seen beautifully interspersed with the country houses of the opulent citizens of the capital. On your arrival at the Falls, every little knoll or eminence is occupied by one of these charming retreats; amongst which General Mifflin's stands conspicuous, nor is the exterior belied by the neatness, the abundance, and hospitality which reign

small creek which falls into the Schuylkill, the height of ten or twelve feet, the mills turned by this creek, the trees which cover its banks, and those of the Schuylkill, form a most pleasing landscape, which would not escape the pencil of *Robert and Le Prince*.

This

within; the easy politeness, the attention, good sense, gaiety, and information of the owner; the order, arrangement, and elegance of Mrs. Mifflin, who still adhering to her sect, which her husband renounced for "the ear-piercing fife and spirit-stirring drum," possesses all its excellencies, and is what a most amiable female Quaker ought to be, render this (and I speak from knowledge and gratitude) a most delicious abode. Below this house, and close to the Falls, is a building erected by Mr. *John Dickinson*, the celebrated author of the *Farmer's Letters*, for a select society of friends, who held a weekly meeting there, before the war, during the season for eating shad. Good humour, harmony, and good sense, are said to have characterized these meetings, presided by this eminent and amiable man, whose figure, countenance, and manners always reminded me of the urbanity and virtues so characteristically portrayed in the person of the lamented, great, good man, Lord *Rockingham*.

TRANSLATOR.

This expedition not being so long as that of the other day, left me two hours at my disposal; and I employed them in visiting the left of the English lines which I had not yet seen. M. de Gimat was so good as to separate from the rest of the company, and instead of returning to Philadelphia, we kept to the right, to follow the lines, as far as the Schuylkill. I found that from the centre, to the left, their position was nothing less than advantageous, particularly near a burnt house, towards which I should have directed my attack, had I been in the way of making one. From a ridge of ground, where indeed the English had formed a semicircular battery towards the Schuylkill, the glacis is against the lines; so that the assailant might first march under cover, and then command the batteries which defend them. To the left, and close to the Schuylkill, the ground has suddenly a very considerable rise, of which the English did not fail to avail themselves, by constructing a large redoubt, and a battery; but this summit itself is commanded, and taken in reverse by the heights on the
other

other side of the river. Be this as it may, these works were sufficient to secure an army of fifteen thousand men, against one of seven or at most eight thousand. At every step one takes in America, one is astonished at the striking contrast between the contempt in which the English affected to hold their enemies, and the extreme precautions they took on every occasion.

Nothing can equal the beauties of the coup d'œil which the banks of the Schuylkill present, in descending towards the south to return to Philadelphia.

I found a pretty numerous company assembled at dinner at the Chevalier de la Luzerne's, which was augmented by the arrival of the Comte de Custine and the M. de Laval. In the evening we took them to see the President of the Congress, who was not at home, and then to Mr. Peters, the Secretary to the Board of War, to whom it was my first visit. His house is not large, nor his office of great importance; for every thing which is not in the power of the General of the Army, depends on each particular state, much more than on Congress; but

but he possesses what is preferable to all the departments in the world, an amiable wife, [the Marquis might have added, *very beautiful*] excellent health, a good voice, and great gaiety and humour. We conversed some time together, and he spoke of the American army with as much freedom as good sense. He confessed that formerly their army knew no discipline, and he insisted strongly on the obligations they owed to the *Baron de Soeuben*, who performed the duties of Inspector-General. Passing then to the eulogium of Messieurs de Fleury, du Portal, and all the French officers who had served in the late campaigns, he observed, that those who offered their service in the beginning, had not given a very advantageous idea of their country. They were almost all furnished, however, with letters of recommendation from the Governors or Commandants of our colonies; in which they seem to me very reprehensible. The weakness which prevents men from refusing a letter of recommendation, or the desire of getting rid of a good for nothing fellow, continually gets the better of jus-

tice and good faith; we deceive, we expose the reputation of our allies, but we still more essentially betray the interests of our country, whose honour and character are thus shamefully prostituted.

I shall only speak of Mr. *Price*, with whom we drank tea and spent the evening, to bear witness to the generosity of this gallant man, who, born in Canada and always attached to the French, lent two hundred thousand livres, *hard money*, to M. de Corny, whom the court had sent with fifty thousand livres only to make provision for our army.

The 13th, I went with the Chevalier de la Luzerne, and the French travellers, to dine with the Southern Delegates.* Mes-
sieurs

* The Marquis de Chastellux seems unfortunately to have known but little of the Southern Delegates, particularly those of *South Carolina*, whom, without any invidious comparison, he would have found men of the greatest liberality and understanding: as firm in their principles, and as ready to hazard their lives in the defence of their liberty, as the most zealous inhabitant of New England; they possessed, in general, all the taste, urbanity, and enlightened knowledge of polished Europe. In Mr.
4 *Ramsay,*

sieurs *Sharp*, *Flouy*,† and *Maddison*, were the nearest to me ; I conversed a great deal with them, and was much satisfied with their

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Ramsay, he would have found a cultivated understanding, a persevering mind, and an active enthusiasm, founded on a thorough knowledge of the cause he was engaged in, and the most perfect conviction of its rectitude. In Mr. *Izard*, the fire and zeal of a gentleman republican, filled with indignation at the violence and excesses he had witnessed in the English Government. In Mr. *Rutledge*, a manly, principled determination to risk and suffer every thing, rather than again submit to the yoke of Britain, with elegant ideas of the enjoyments of life, and all the domestic virtues. In Mr. *Arthur Middleton*, the plainest manners, with the most refined taste ; great reading, and knowledge of the world, concealed under the reserve of the mildest, and most modest nature ; a complete philanthropist, but the firmest patriot ; cool, steady, and unmoved at the general wreck of property and fortune, as far as he was personally concerned, but with a heart melting for the suffering and woes of others. He would have found him, in short, a model of private worth, and public virtue, a good citizen, a good father, and an exemplary husband, accomplished in the letters, in the sciences, and fine arts, well acquainted with the manners and the courts of Europe, from whence he has transplanted to his country nothing but their embellishments and virtues. I speak of him with enthusiasm, for he really excited my admiration. He had

their conversation. But I was still more so with that I had in the afternoon at Mrs. Meredith's, General Cadwallader's daughter: this was the first time I had seen this amiable family, although the Chevalier de la Luzerne was very intimate with them; but they had only just arrived from the country, where General Cadwallader was still detained by business. It is this gentleman who had a duel with Mr. Chace, formerly a Delegate for Maryland, and severely wounded him in the jaw with a pistol shot. Mrs. Meredith has three or four sisters, or sisters-in-law. I was astonished at the freedom and gaiety which reigned in this family, and regretted not having known them sooner. I chattered more particularly with Mrs. Meredith, who appeared

had made a handsome collection of paintings when in Italy, and on his travels, which were mutilated and destroyed by the ruffian hands of the European savages, who took possession of his house in Carolina.

TRANSLATOR.

+ There must be an error in this name, but as the Translator can find no similitude between it, and that of any of the Southern Delegates, he has inserted it literally.

TRANSLATOR.

peared to me very amiable and well informed. In the course of an hour we talked of literature, poetry, romances, and above all, history; I found she knew that of France very well; the comparison between Francis I. and Henry IV. between Turenne and Condé, Richelieu and Mazarine, seemed familiar to her, and she made them with much grace, wit, and understanding. Whilst I was talking with Mrs. Meredith, Mr. Lynch had got possession of Miss Polly Cadwallader, who had likewise made a conquest of him, insomuch that the Chevalier de la Luzerne was much entertained at the enthusiasm with which this company had inspired us, and the regret we expressed at not having become sooner acquainted with them. It must be acknowledged, with regard to the ladies who compose it, that none of them is what may be called handsome; this mode of expression is, perhaps, a little too circuitous for the American women, but if they have wit enough to comprehend, and good sense enough to be flattered with it, their eulogium will be complete.

I know not how it happened, that since my arrival in Philadelphia, I had not yet seen Mr. *Payne*, that author so celebrated in America, and throughout Europe, by his excellent work, entitled, *Common Sense*, and several other political pamphlets. Mr. de la Fayette and I had asked the permission of an interview for the 14th in the morning, and we waited on him accordingly with Colonel Laurens. I discovered, at his apartments, all the attributes of a man of letters; a room pretty much in disorder, dusty furniture, and a large table covered with books lying open, and manuscripts begun. His person was in a correspondent dress, nor did his physiognomy belie the spirit that reigns throughout his works. Our conversation was agreeable and animated, and such as to form a connection between us, for he has written to me since my departure, and seems desirous of maintaining a constant correspondence. His existence at Philadelphia is similar to that of those political writers in England, who have obtained nothing, and have neither credit enough in the state, nor sufficient political weight to obtain a part
in

in the affairs of government. Their works are read with more curiosity than confidence, their projects being regarded rather as the play of imagination, than as well concerted plans, and sufficient in credit ever to produce any real effect: theirs is always considered as the work of an individual, and not that of a party; information may be drawn from them, but not consequences; accordingly we observe, that the influence of these authors is more felt in the satirical, than in the dogmatical style, as it is easier for them to decry other men's opinions than to establish their own. This is more the case with Mr. Payne than any body; for having formerly held a post in government, he has now no connection with it; and as his patriotism and his talents are unquestionable, it is natural to conclude that the vivacity of his imagination, and the independence of his character, render him more calculated for reasoning on affairs, than for conducting them.* Another literary man,
as

* Mr. Payne has since written a very interesting pamphlet on the finances of America, entitled, *the Crisis*; an answer to the History of the American

as much respected, though less celebrated, expected us at dinner; this was Mr. Wilson, whom
Revolution by the Abbé Raynal; and several other works, which confirm the reputation he so justly acquired by his first production.——[The author is inaccurate in this particular, *the Crisis* was a sort of periodical publication, many numbers of which had appeared previous even to the arrival of the French army in America, and was adapted by Mr. Payne to every great house, or crisis of the government, whether favourable, or unfavourable; either to urge to energy, and as a spur against supineness, or to give a countenance to misfortune, and stimulate to fresh exertions; the subject of finance was only the occasional topic of one number of the *Crisis*, and so great was the weight of this writer, whose situation was very different indeed from that of an English pamphleteer, however ingenious the comparison, that on great emergencies, where almost despondency might be looked for, the whole continent waited with suspense for consolation and council from *Common Sense*, his general appellation. His productions were instantly published in every town, of every state (for every town has a newspaper), on grey, brown, yellow, and black, but seldom on white paper, a very rare commodity; the people took fresh courage, and, “have you read *the Crisis*?” was the specific against every political apprehension. In short, never was a writer better calculated for the meridian under which he wrote, or who knew how to adapt himself more happily to every circumstance. Con- sidering

whom I have already mentioned: his house and library are in the best order; he gave us an excellent dinner, and received us with a plain and easy politeness. Mrs. Wilson did the honours of the table with all possible attention; but we were particularly sensible to the mark of it she gave us, by retiring after the desert, for then the dinner assumed an air of gaiety. Mr. Peters, the minister at war, gave the signal of joy and liberty by favouring us with a song of his composition, so jolly and so free, that I shall dispense with giving either a translation, or an extract. This was really a very excellent song. He then sung another more chaste, and more musical; a very fine

considering the wonderful effect of his pamphlet of Common Sense, known to every man in America, and the universal ascendancy he had justly acquired over the minds of the people, it is impossible, in a general distribution of cases, to appreciate the share Mr. Payne had in producing this momentous revolution. It were the height of injustice, and ingratitude, to rob him of that share of glory, which if not his only, is at least his noblest recompense.

TRANSLATOR.]

Italian

Italian *contabile*. †Mr. Peters is, unquestionably, the Minister of the two worlds, who has the best voice, and who sings the best, the pathetic and the *bouffon*. I was told that the preceding year there were some private concerts at Philadelphia, where he sung amongst other pieces of comic operas, a burlesque part in a very pleasant trio, by himself, which he seasoned with all the humorous strokes usual on such occasions, and afforded the highest amusement to the company, so that this was not the time for saying, *one cannot lose a kingdom more gaily*, but, *it is impossible to be more gay in forming a republic*. After this, conclude from particulars to generals, judge of whole nations by one specimen, and establish principles without exceptions!

The assembly, or subscription ball, of which I must give an account, may here be properly introduced. At Philadelphia, as at London, Bath, Spa, &c. there are places

† So varied and universal are the talents of Mr. Peters, and he is so excellent a companion, that it is not saying too much, to add, that he would form the delight of any society in Europe.

TRANSLATOR,

places appropriated for the young people to dance in, and where those whom that amusement does not suit, play at different games of cards; but at Philadelphia, games of commerce are alone allowed. A *manager*, or master of ceremonies presides at these methodical amusements: he presents to the gentlemen and ladies, dancers, billets folded up containing each a number; thus fate decides the male or female partner for the whole evening. All the dances are previously arranged, and the dancers are called in their turns. These dances, like the *toasts* we drink at table, have some relation to politics: one is called *the success of the campaign*, another, *the defeat of Burgoyne*, and a third, *Clinton's retreat*. The managers are generally chosen from amongst the most distinguished officers of the army; this important place is at present held by Colonel *Wilkinson*, who is also clothier general of the army. Colonel *Mitchell*, a little fat, squat man, fifty years old, a great judge of horses, and who was lately contractor for carriages, both for the American and French armies, was formerly the manager;

nager; but when I saw him, he had descended from the magistracy, and danced like a private citizen. He is said to have exercised his office with great severity, and it is told of him, that a young lady who was figuring in a country dance, having forgot her turn by conversing with a friend, he came up to her, and called out aloud, *give over, Miss, take care what you are about; do you think you come here for your pleasure?*

The assembly I went to on leaving Mr. Wilson, was the second of the Winter. I was apprized that it would be neither numerous nor brilliant, for at Philadelphia, as at Paris, the best company seldom go to the balls before Christmas. On entering the room however, I found twenty, or five and twenty ladies ready for dancing. It was whispered me, that having heard a great deal of the Vicomte de Noailles, and the Comte de Damas, they were come with the hopes of having them for partners; but they were completely disappointed, those gentlemen having set out that very morning. I should have been disappointed also, had I expected to see pretty women. There were

were only two passable, one of whom, called Miss *Footman*, was rather contraband, that is to say, suspected of not being a very good whig, for the tory ladies are publicly excluded from this assembly. I was here presented to a ridiculous enough personage, but who plays her part in the town; a Miss *Viny*, celebrated for her coquetry, her wit, and her sarcastic disposition: she is thirty, and does not seem on the point of marriage. In the mean time she applies red, white, blue, and all possible colours, affects an extraordinary mode of dressing her hair and person, and, a staunch whig in every point, she sets no bounds to her liberty.

I intended leaving Philadelphia the 15th, but the President of the State, who is also President of the Academy, was so good as to invite me to a meeting of that body to be held that day. It was the more difficult for me to refuse his invitation, as it was proposed to elect me a foreign member. The meetings are held only once a fortnight, and the elections take place but once a year: every candidate must be presented and recommended by a member of the acade-

my;

my ; after which recommendation his name is placed up during three succeeding sittings, in the hall of the academy, and the election is at length proceeded to by ballot. I had only heard of mine three days before. It was unanimous, which very rarely happens. M. de la Fayette himself, who was elected at the same time, had one black ball against him, but it was thought to have been an accident. Out of one and twenty candidates, only seven were chosen, although the others had been strongly recommended, and there were several vacancies.

As the sittings of the academy did not begin till seven in the evening, I employed my morning in paying visits, after which I dined at Mr. *Holker's*,* with the Chevalier de

* Mr. Holker, the son of the Chevalier Holker, died a few months ago at Rouen, who being condemned to die for acting as an officer in the Manchester regiment, in the rebellion of 1745, made his escape from prison, and fled to France, where he was tempted by the government to establish the Manchester manufactory ; this he repeatedly refused, until, from the wretched policy of Mr. Pelham and other Ministers to whom he represented the offers held out to him, with a request of his pardon, he

de la Luzerne, M. de la Fayette, and all the French officers: from thence I went to the academy,

was driven to accept of the proposals of the French court. England knows too well, at this hour, the success with which his endeavours have been crowned. On the arrival of the American commissioners in France, Mr. Holker was among the first, and most zealous in his offers of every assistance in his power, and entered into the most intimate connection with them. In 1777 his son was sent to Paris to be near Dr. Franklin, and had many opportunities of rendering essential services. In 1778 he went out to America with Monsieur Gerard the first French Ambassador, in D'Estaing's squadron, as Consul General of France. He had not been long in the country before he entered into very advantageous commercial speculations, jointly with his father's countryman, Mr. Robert Morris, and by means of his situation as Consul, had many opportunities of shipping flour, &c. under permissions for the French fleet, in the time of a general and strict embargo; he speculated largely too in paper money, with which he purchased, for almost nothing, a very handsome house at Philadelphia, and an elegant country house and estate a few miles from that city. Mr. Holker displayed, during the whole war, a taste and luxury hitherto strangers in America; his house was the resort of all the first people on the Continent, and after the arrival of the French army, of all their officers of distinction. The French court however, on some representations of the Chevalier de la

academy; accompanied by M. Marbois, a member of that body, as well as M. de la Luzerne,

Luzerne, thought fit to prohibit their Consuls from all private commerce, a wise regulation universally established by them; and Mr. Holker preferring the advantages of trade, to those of his office, resigned the latter, about the beginning of 1781, which for some time occasioned a coolness between the Minister and him; he had likewise a difference with Mr. Morris on settling their accounts to a very large amount, which has detained him in America, since the peace; but if I am rightly informed, it is at length terminated. In 1777, I supped with Mr. Deane, then a strenuous friend to his country, on his return from Havre de Grace; where he told me, that on giving the usual toasts of "the Congress," &c. after dinner, the old gentleman could not forbear reflecting on the mutability of human affairs, and that he who was an exile, and had nearly suffered death for his zealous attachment to the cause of arbitrary monarchy, should now be as ardent in his wishes for the success of the most pure democracy that had ever been proposed to human understanding. And in fact this is more striking, as the most strenuous supporters of the American war were found in Scotland, and his native town of Manchester; in the very seat, and sources of rebellion against liberty; in the persons of the very actors, in the attempt to overthrow the English constitution, and dethrone the Brunswick family. TRANSLATOR.

Luzerne, who having other business, excused himself from attending me, but left me in very good hands. Mr. Marbois unites to all political and social qualities, a great deal of literature, and a perfect knowledge of the English language. The assembly consisted of only fourteen or fifteen persons; the President of the college performed the office of Secretary. A memoir was read on a singular plant, a native of the country; the Secretary then gave an account of correspondence, and read a letter, the object of which was, for the academy of Philadelphia to associate with, or rather adopt several learned societies which are forming in each State. This project tended to make of this academy a sort of literary congress, with which the particular legislatures should keep a correspondence, but it was not thought proper to adopt this idea; the members seeming to be afraid of the trouble inseparable from all these adoptions, and the academy not wishing to make the following lines of Racine's *Athalie* applicable to them:

VOL. I. Y D'où

D'où lui viennent de tous côtés

Ces enfans qu'en son sein elle n'a pas portés !

I returned as soon as possible to the Chevalier de la Luzerne's, to have a still further enjoyment of that society which had constituted my happiness for the last fortnight : for it is unquestionably a very great one, to live with a man whose amiable and mild character never varies on any occasion ; whose conversation is agreeable and instructive, and whose easy and unaffected politeness is the genuine expression of the best disposition. But however allowable it may be to declare one's own sentiments, when dictated by justice and gratitude, there is always a sort of personality in regarding public men only as they respect their connections with ourselves : it is to the King's Minister, in America ; it is to a man who most ably fills a most important post, that I owe my testimony and my praises. I shall say, without fear of contradiction, that the Chevalier de la Luzerne is so formed for the station he occupies, that one would be led to imagine no other could fill it but himself ;

himself; noble in his expences, like the minister of a great monarchy, but as plain in his manners as a republican, he is equally proper to represent the King with Congress, or the Congress with the King. He loves the Americans, and his own inclination attaches him to the duties of his administration; he has accordingly obtained their confidence, both as a private and a public man; but in both these respects he is equally inaccessible to the spirit of party, which reigns but too much around him: whence it results, that he is anxiously courted by all parties, and that by espousing none, he manages them all.

It was the 16th of December that I quitted the excellent winter quarters I had with him, and turned my face towards the north, to seek after the traces of General Gates and General Burgoyne, amidst heaps of snow. I had sent forward my horses to Bristol, where I was conveyed in a carriage which the Chevalier de la Luzerne was so kind as to lend me. By this means I arrived there time enough to reach Prince-Town that night, but not before it was dark, leaving behind me some of my servants and horses.

The detail of my daily occupations having prevented me from giving a general idea of Philadelphia, I must, on quitting it, take a retrospective view, and consider at once its present state and the destiny which seems to await it. In observing its geographical situation, we may readily admit that *Penn* proceeded upon no erroneous idea, when he conceived his plan of making it one day the capital of America. Two large rivers,* which take their rise in the neighbourhood of *Lake Ontario*, convey to it the riches of all the interior parts of the country, and at length, by their junction considerably higher up, form a magnificent port at this city. This port is at once far enough from the sea to shelter it from every insult; and so near, as to render it as easy of access as if situated on the shore of the ocean. The Schuylkill, which runs to the west of Philadelphia, and

* The two branches of the Delaware form two considerable rivers, the sources of which are distant several miles from each other, but they are only distinguished by the names of the *Eastern* and *Western Branches*.

and nearly parallel with the Delaware, is rather ornamental than useful to this city and its commerce. This river, though wide and beautiful near its conflux, is not navigable for boats, on account of its shallow and rocky bed. Philadelphia, placed between these two rivers, on a neck of land only three miles broad, ought to fill up this space, but commerce has given it another turn. The regular plan of William Penn has been followed, but the buildings are along the Delaware, for the convenience of being near the warehouses and shipping. *Front-street*, which is parallel with the river, is near three miles long, out of which open upwards of two hundred quays, forming so many views terminated by vessels of different sizes.* I could easily

Y 3

form

* The author has by no means given an adequate idea of Philadelphia, which, however, has so often been described as to render it less necessary; but as he names only one street extending along the river, it may be proper to observe, that parallel with *Front-street*, are *second, third, fourth, fifth* and *sixth* streets; these are intersected at right angles by *Arch street, State street, Market street, &c. &c.* the latter, which is of a great breadth, and length, and cuts the centre

form an idea of the commerce of Philadelphia, from seeing above three hundred vessels in the harbour, though the English had not left a single bark in it in 1778. Two years tranquillity, and, above all, the diversion made by our squadron at Rhode Island, have sufficed to collect this great number,

of the city, would be one of the finest streets in the world, were it not for the market situated in the middle of it; but the upper part is occupied by the houses of opulent citizens, and will in time become truly noble. It may be added, that so far from the buildings following the river, they are extended rapidly towards the common, where many new streets were marked out and begun in 1782; and it may safely be predicted, that if the trade of Philadelphia continue to flourish, the plan of *William Penn* will be accomplished, judging from the very rapid progress of the past, at no very distant period, and the ground be covered with, perhaps, the noblest of modern cities, extending from the Delaware to the Schuylkill. This will be accelerated too, by the sale of the common, which was taken by the Assembly from the proprietor, Mr. John Penn, at the beginning of the revolution; with the rest of the proprietary estate, in consideration of a certain sum, and disposed of in lots to the best bidders,

TRANSLATOR.

number of vessels, the success of which in privateering, as well as in trade, have filled the warehouses with goods, insomuch that purchasers alone are wanting. The wisdom of the legislative council, however, has not corresponded with the advantages lavished by Nature. Pennsylvania is very far from being the best governed of the United States. Exposed, more than others, to the convulsions of credit, and to the manœuvres of speculation, the instability of the public wealth has operated on the legislation itself. An attempt was made to fix the value of the paper currency, but commodities augmented in price, in proportion as money lost its value; a resolution was then taken to fix the price also of commodities which almost produced a famine. A more recent error of the government, was the law prohibiting the exportation of corn. The object they had in view, was on one hand to supply the American army at a cheaper rate, and on the other, to put a stop to the contraband trade between Philadelphia and New York; the ruin of the farmers and the state was the result,

which could no longer obtain payment of the taxes. This law is just repealed, so that I hope agriculture will resume its vigour, and commerce receive an increase. Corn sent to the army will be something dearer, but there will be more money to pay for it; and should there be some smuggling with New York, English money will circulate amongst their enemies.*

It

* The votes of the House of Commons, and the account of Messieurs Drummond and Harley, will shew the immense sums, in Portugal and Spanish gold alone, sent to America; these, as well as English guineas, found their way, towards the middle period of the war, in great abundance into the American part of the continent, where they circulated in a variety of mutilated forms; the moidores, and six-and-thirties, had all of them holes punched in them, or were otherwise diminished at New York, before they were suffered to pass the lines; from whence they obtained the name of *Robertson's*, in the rebel country; but the profits, if any, of that commander, on this new edition of the coin, remain a secret.—In the country, almost all the specie of every denomination was cut by individuals, and appeared under the forms of half, quarter, and eighth parts, the latter of which received the name of *sharp shins*; by this arbitrary division of the money, which was never weighed, great frauds were inevitable.

TRANSLATOR.

It were greatly to be wished that paper might at length obtain an established credit, no matter what value; for it signifies little whether the price of a sheep be represented by one hundred and fifty paper dollars, or two dollars in specie. This depreciation of the paper is not felt in those places where it remains the same; but Philadelphia is, so to speak, the great sink, wherein all the speculations of America terminate, and are confounded together. Since the capture of Charles Town, many of the inhabitants of Carolina hastily sold their estates and crops, and having only been paid in paper, they brought this article with them to Philadelphia already overstocked with it.* The

Quakers

* The wonderful resources derived in the commencement from this paper money, its extraordinary depreciation, and total disappearance without producing any great shock or convulsion in an infant country, struggling with a complication of difficulties, will certainly form an epocha in the general history of finances, as well as in that of this great revolution. I saw *hundreds of millions* of paper dollars piled up, effaced in the office of Congress at Philadelphia, which, never possessing any real value, had served all the purposes of a difficult, and uncommonly expensive war, and were now quietly laid

Quakers and Tories, on the other hand, with which this province abounds, two classes

aside, with scarce a murmur on the part of the public; the variety of the depreciation, at different periods, and in different parts of the Continent, whilst it gave rise to great temporary abuses, had been so divided, and balanced, by alternate profit and loss amongst all classes of citizens, that on casting up the account, some very unfortunate cases excepted, it seems to have operated only as a general tax on the public; and the universal joy on its annihilation, with the satisfactory reflection on the necessity under which it was issued in the critical moment of danger, seemed to conciliate all minds, to a total oblivion of its partial mischief. Here and there great fortunes are to be seen, reared upon its now visionary basis, and families reduced from opulence to mediocrity by means of this destructive medium; but these instances are by no means so frequent as they have been represented in Europe, and were often the result of ill-judged, but avaricious speculations; but I repeat it, that the continued use, the general circulation, the astonishing depreciation, and total destruction of such an immense imaginary property, will always exhibit a phenomenon infinitely more striking, than that a few, or even a great number of individuals should have suffered, as must always be the case in every civil commotion. The fact is unparalleled, and will probably stand single in the annals of the world. TRANSLATOR.

classes of men equally dangerous, one from their timidity, and the other from their bad intentions, are incessantly labouring to secure their fortune ; they lavish the paper for a little gold or silver, to enable them to remove wherever they may think themselves in safety ; from these reasons, the paper money is more and more decried, not only because it is too common, but because gold and silver are extremely scarce, and difficult to be obtained.

In the midst of these convulsions the government is without force, nor can it be otherwise. A popular government can never have any, whilst the people are unsteady, and fluctuating in their opinions ; for then the leaders rather seek to please, than serve them ; obliged to gain their confidence before they merit it, they are more inclined to flatter, than instruct them, and fearing to lose the favour they have acquired, they finish by becoming the slaves of the multitude whom they pretended to govern. Mr. Franklin has been blamed for giving too democratical a government to his country, but they who censure him
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do not reflect that the first step was to make her renounce monarchical government, and that it was necessary to employ a sort of seduction in order to conduct a timid and avaricious people to independence, who were besides so divided in their opinions, that the republican party was scarcely stronger than the other. Under these circumstances he acted like *Solon*; he has not given the best possible laws to Pennsylvania, but the best of which the country was susceptible. Time will produce perfection: in pleading to recover an estate, the first object is to obtain possession, the rest follows of course.*

Philadelphia

* The author might have added, in corroboration of his argument, that the constitution of Pennsylvania is, for this reason, only a constitution of experiment, from seven years to seven years, in which it is expressly reserved to a *Council of Censors*, to revise the past operations of government, to judge of the effects produced from it as then constituted, and to call a *general convention of the people*, for the purpose of amending the deficient parts, and of correcting its exuberancies and vices. It is a glorious experiment, worthy the philanthropic heart, and the enlightened understanding of DOCTOR FRANKLIN.—*Quod felix, faustumque sit!* TRANSLATOR.

Philadelphia contains about forty thousand inhabitants. The streets are large and regular, and intersect each other at right angles. There are footways here, as in London, for the passengers. This city has every useful establishment, such as hospitals, workhouses, houses of correction, &c. but it is so deficient in an essential article of comfort and enjoyment, that there is not a single public walk.* The reason of this is, that hitherto every thing concerning the police, and particular government of the city has been in the hands of the

* The city of Philadelphia is not only at present destitute of public walks, but, in summer, the heat renders walking in the streets intolerably inconvenient; the houses and footpaths being generally of brick, are not even cooled until some hours after sunset. This extreme heat, and the abundance of excellent water, with which Philadelphia is supplied, occasion many accidents among the lower class of people, for it is no uncommon thing to see a labourer, after quenching his thirst at a pump, drop down dead upon the spot, nor can the numerous examples of this kind every summer prevent them from frequently occurring; but it is to be observed, that if the heat be intense, the water is uncommonly cold. TRANSLATOR.

the Quakers, and these sectaries consider every species of private or public amusement as a transgression of their law, and as a *pomp of Satan*. Fortunately, the little zeal (to say no more) they have displayed on the present crisis, has made them lose their credit. This revolution comes very opportunely, at a time when the public has derived every benefit from them they could expect; the walls of the house are finished, it is time to call in the carpenters and upholsterers.

It is time also for me to return to Prince Town, to continue my journey to Albany, by New Windsor, General Washington's head quarters, I intended setting out early on the 17th; it was necessary, in fact, to be alert, that I might reach Morris Town, but my baggage horse not being able to pass the Delaware, at the same time with myself, I left one of my people to wait for, and conduct him. It so happened that neither the servant I was waiting for, nor the other arrived. One of the servants was an Irishman, the other a German, both newly entered into my service. As
soon

soon as I saw the morning of the 17th approach, without their making their appearance, the neighbourhood of New York began to give me some uneasiness. I was apprehensive they might have taken that road with my little baggage, and I was already making dispositions to pursue them, when, to my great satisfaction, I saw the head of my baggage column appear, that is, one of the three horses which were left behind, the remainder following soon after.*

To

* After Sir Guy Carleton's arrival at New-York with the vote of Parliament to discontinue offensive war, the Translator, who was travelling to the northward, and meant to call on General Washington then in camp at Verplanks Point, on the North River, thought he might with safety take the lower road by Brunswick and Elizabeth-Town; but he had not been an hour in bed, before he and his companion, a surgeon in the American army, were alarmed by a scattering fire of musquetry. Before they had time to dress themselves, and take their pistols, the landlord entered their apartment, and informed them, that a party from Staten Island was marching towards the town, and advised them to make their escape; with much difficulty they got their horses out of the stable, hid their baggage in the church-yard, and hearing the English officer

To pass the time, however, I entered into conversation with my landlord, Colonel Howard,

order his men to *form* at the end of the town, they took different roads, leaving their servants, who were, one a Scotch prisoner to the Americans, the other an English deserter, and whose conduct appeared very suspicious, to take care of themselves, and the horses they rode on. The Translator, who followed the great road to Newark, was mounted on a white horse, which made him a good object, and had several shot fired at him, but the ground rising, and his horse going at full gallop, the balls luckily fell short. After endeavouring to rouse the country, but without being able to collect a sufficient force, he took shelter at an honest carpenter's, about a mile from the town, where he remained till a little before daybreak, when concluding from the general silence, that the party had retired, he returned, and went to search for his baggage in the church-yard, for which however he sought in vain, and his anxiety was not a little increased on not finding his other horse in the stable, nor seeing either of the servants. But from which he was soon relieved by his friend, who had watched the first moment of the enemy's departure, ordered the baggage up into his room, and assured him that the servants had conducted themselves with the greatest fidelity. His alarm was, it seems, much greater than that of the Translator, as General Washington had declared publicly in orders, that any officer of his army, taken near the lines, unless

Howard, who is a very good man, and with his son the Captain, a great talker, and a genuine *Captain*. He recounted to me with many gestures, oaths, and imprecations all his feats of prowess in the war; especially at the affair of Prince-Town, where he served as a lieutenant of militia in his father's regiment; and indeed the action he boasted of would have merited an eulogium, had he related it with simplicity. We may recollect that after beating the English, General Washington continued his route to-

on duty, should be the last exchanged. The Translator imagines the party to have been Refugees from Staten Island, who, from their separate institution under the direction of a *Board*, not unfrequently set at defiance the orders of the Commander in Chief; a remarkable instance of which occurred in the case of Captain Huddy, whom they obtained, under false pretences, from the guard-house, where he was a prisoner, and murdered without either scruple or apprehension. All Europe knows the consequence, in the imminent danger of *Captain Asgill*; and all America saw with shame and indignation the English General unable to enforce discipline in his own army, and shrinking under the apprehensions of irritating Governor Franklin, and his envenomed board of Loyalists.

TRANSLATOR.

VOL. I

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wards

wards Middlebrook. An American officer, who had his leg broke by a musquet ball, was dragged into a house, where the English sooner or later must have found him: young Howard, and some soldiers as well disposed as himself, set out at night from Middlebrook, took a circuitous road, arrived at the house, found the officer, took him on their shoulders and carried him to their quarters. During the remainder of the winter, the Jersey militia were constantly under arms to restrain the English, who occupied Elizabeth-Town and Brunswick. It was a sort of continual chace, to which Lieutenant Howard one day led his little brother, a boy of fifteen, and who was lucky enough to begin his career by killing a Hessian grenadier; as these stories were very tedious, I shall drop them here, for fear of not improving on the narration: I must mention however the manner in which my *Captain* entered into the service, as it will serve to discover the spirit which reigned in America at the beginning of the present revolution. He was apprentice to a hatter at the time of the affair of Lexington,

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ton, and the blockade of Boston; three of his companions and himself set out one morning from Philadelphia with four dollars amongst them in their pockets: they travelled four hundred miles on foot to join the army, in which they served as volunteers the remainder of the campaign; from thence they set out with Arnold on his expedition to Canada, and did not return home till the theatre of war was removed into their own country.

Eleven o'clock had struck before I could rally the horses in my train, and begin my march; I abandoned therefore the plan of sleeping at Morris-Town, and determined to stop at *Baskenridge*, eight miles nearer Prince-Town. I first left the Millstone on the right, then crossed it twice before I reached the Rariton, which I passed at the same place as in my journey to Philadelphia. Three miles from thence I was told to take a road to the right, which leads into the woods, and over the summit of the Hills; this route was opened for the army, during the winter quarters of 1778-9; it appears to have been made with care, and is

still passable ; but after some time, daylight failing me, I lost myself, and went a mile or two out of my way. Luckily for me, I found a hut inhabited by some new settlers ; there I got a guide who conducted me to Baskenridge, where I arrived at seven o'clock, and alighted at *Bullion's Tavern*, got tolerable lodgings, with the best people in the world. Our supper was very good : bread only was wanting ; but, inquiring of us what sort we liked, in an hour's time we had such as we desired. This will appear less extraordinary, on being told that in America, little cakes, which are easily kneaded and baked in half an hour, are often substituted for bread. Possibly one would soon tire of them, but they suited my taste extremely well. Mr. Bullion had two white servants, one a man about fifty, the other a woman, younger, with a tolerable good face : I had the curiosity to inquire what wages he gave them, and was told that the man earned half a crown a day, and the woman six shillings a week, or ten pence a day. If we pay attention to the circumstance, that these servants are lodged and
fed,

fed, and have no expences, we may see that it is easy for them very shortly to acquire a piece of ground, and to form such a settlement as I have described.

The 18th I set out at eight in the morning, and made only one stage to Pompton; which is six-and-thirty miles, without baiting my horses or stopping, except for a quarter of an hour to pay a visit to General Wayne, whose quarters were on the main road. He was posted to cover the Jerseys, and had under his orders the same Pennsylvania line which revolted a fortnight after. I again saw with pleasure the environs of Morris-Town, which are agreeable and well cultivated; but after passing the *Rockaway*, and approaching Pompton, I was astonished at the degree of perfection to which agriculture is carried, and particularly admired the farms of Messieurs *Mandeville*. They are the sons of a Dutchman, who first cleared the ground from which they now reap such rich harvests. Their domains join each other. In each of them the manor is very simple and small, the barns alone are lofty and spacious. Always faithful to their

national œconomy, they cultivate, reap, and sell, without augmenting either their houses or their enjoyments; content with living in a corner of their farm, and with being only the spectators of their own wealth. By the side of these old farms we see new settlements forming, and have more and more reason to be convinced, that if the war has retarded the progress of agriculture and population, it has not entirely suspended them. The night, which surprised me on my journey, deprived me of the beautiful prospect this country would have continued to afford. Being very dark, it was not without difficulty I passed two or three rivulets, on very small bridges, and got to *Courtheath's Tavern*. This Inn is lately established, and kept by young people without fortune, consequently the best parts of the furniture are the owner and his family. Mr. *Courtheath* is a young man of four-and-twenty, who was formerly a travelling dealer in stuffs, toys, &c. The depreciation of paper money, or perhaps his own imprudence, so far ruined him as to oblige him to leave his house at Morris-Town, and set up a
tavern

tavern in this out of the way place, where nothing but the neighbourhood of the army can procure him a few customers. He has two handsome sisters, well dressed girls, who wait on travellers with grace and coquetry. Their brother says, he will marry them to some fat, clumsy Dutchmen, and that as for himself, as soon as he has got a little money, he shall resume his commerce, and travel about as formerly. On entering the parlour, where these young women sit, when there are no strangers, I found on a great table, *Milton*, *Addison*, *Richardson*, and several other works of that kind. The cellar was not so well stored as the library, for there was neither wine, cyder, nor rum; nothing in short but some vile cyder-brandy, with which I must make grog. The bill they presented me the next morning amounted nevertheless to sixteen dollars.* I ob-

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served

* Travelling in America was wonderfully expensive during the war, even after the abolition of paper money, and when all payments were made in *specie*, you could not remain at an inn, even the most indifferent, one night, with a servant and two horses, living in the most moderate way, under from *five* to

served to Mr. Courtheath, that if he made one pay for being waited on by his pretty sisters, it was by much too little; but if only for lodgings and supper, it was a great deal. He seemed a little ashamed at having charged

eight dollars. At *Grant's Tavern* at Baltimore, where the translator staid some days, with only one horse and no servant, though he either dined or supped out every day, he never escaped for less than *five* dollars.—I cannot here avoid relating the pleasant manner in which one *Bell*, a shrewd Scotch bookseller and auctioneer of Philadelphia, paid his bills in travelling through the country. I had given him an Irish copy of *Sheridan's School for Scandal*, with the prologue and epilogue taken from *Dodsley's Annual Register*, which he reprinted, and sold for a *dollar*. In travelling through Virginia some months after, I was surprised to see in many of the inns, even in the most remote parts of the country, this celebrated comedy; and, upon inquiry, found that Mr. Bell, who travelled with his family in a covered cart, had passed in his way to *the Springs*, (the Harrogate, or Matlock of America) and successfully circulated in payment this new species of paper currency; for, as he observed, "Who would not prefer *Sheridan's Sterling*, to the counterfeit creations of Congress, or even of Robert Morris?" Nor was any depreciation attempted, where the intrinsic value was so unequivocally stamped with the character of wit and freedom,

TRANSLATOR.

charged too high, and offered to make a pretty considerable abatement, which I refused, content with having shewn him, that though a foreigner, I was no stranger to the price of articles, and satisfied with the excuse he made me, that being himself a stranger and without property in the country, he was obliged to purchase every thing. I learnt, on this occasion, that he hired the inn he kept, as well as a large barn which served for a stable, and a garden of two or three acres, for eighty-four bushels of corn a year: in fact, the depreciation of paper has compelled people to this manner of making bargains, which is perhaps the best of all, but is unquestionably an effectual remedy to the present disorder.

At eight o'clock I took leave of my landlord and young landladies, to penetrate through the woods by a road with which nobody was very well acquainted. The country I was to pass through, called *the Clove*, is extremely wild, and was scarcely known before the war: it is a sort of valley, or gorge, situated to the westward of the high mountains between New Windsor and King's Ferry,

Ferry, and at the foot of which are West-Point, and Stoney-Point, and the principal forts which defend the river. In times when the river is not navigable, on account of ice, or contrary winds, it is necessary to have communication by land between the States of New-York and the Jerseys, between New-Windfor and Morris-Town. This communication traversing the Clove, when General Green was Quarter Master General, he opened a road for the convoys of provisions and the artillery. This was the road I took, leaving on my right the *Romopog* road, and ascending by that which comes from *Ringwood*. Ringwood is only a hamlet of seven or eight houses, formed by Mrs. *Erskine's* manor and the forges, which are profitable to her. I had been told that I should find there all sorts of conveniencies, whether in point of lodgings, if I chose to stop, or in procuring every information I might stand in need of. As it was early in the day, and I had travelled but twelve miles, I alighted at Mrs. *Erskine's*, only to desire her to point out to me some inn where I might sleep, or to recommend

mend me to some hospitable quarters. I entered a very handsome house where every body was in mourning, Mr. Erskine being dead two months before. Mrs. Erskine, his widow, is about forty, and did not appear the less fresh or tranquil for her misfortune. She had with her one of her nephews, and Mr. *John Fell*, a member of Congress. They gave me all the necessary information, and after drinking a glass of Madeira, according to the custom of the country, which will not allow you to leave a house without tasting something, I got on horseback, and penetrated afresh into the woods, mounting and descending very high mountains, until I found myself on the borders of a lake, so solitary and concealed, that it is only visible through the trees with which it is surrounded. The declivities which form its banks are so steep, that if a deer made a false step on the top of the mountain, he would infallibly roll into the lake, without being able to rise up. This lake, which is not marked upon the charts, and is called *Duck Sider*, is about three miles long and two wide. I was now in the wildest

wildest and most desert country I had yet passed through; my imagination was already enjoying this solitude, and my eyes were searching through the woods for some extraordinary animals, such as elks or caribous (supposed to be the same as the rein deer) when I perceived, in an open spot, a quadruped which seemed very large. I started with joy, and was advancing slowly, but on a nearer observation of the monster of the desert, to my great regret I discovered it to be a horse peaceably browsing the grass; and the opening, no other than a field belonging to a new settlement. On advancing a few steps farther, I met two children of eight or ten years old, returning quietly from school, carrying under their arms a little basket, and a large book. Thus was I obliged to lay aside all the ideas of a poet or a sportsman, to admire this new country, where one cannot travel four miles without finding a dwelling, nor find one which is not within reach of every possible succour, as well in the natural as in the moral order. These reflections, and the fine weather we had all the afternoon, made the end of my day's

day's journey very agreeable. At the beginning of the night, I arrived at the house of Mr. *Smith*, who formerly kept an inn, though at present he lodges only his friends; but as I had not the honour to be of that number, I was obliged to go a little further, to *Hern's Tavern*, a very indifferent house, where I supped and slept. I left it the 19th, as early as possible; having still twelve miles to New-Windsor, and intending to stay only one night, I was anxious to pass at least the greatest part of the day with General Washington. I met him two miles from New-Windsor; he was in his carriage with Mrs. Washington, going on a visit to Mrs. Knox, whose quarters were a mile farther on, near the artillery barracks. They wished to return with me, but I begged them to continue their way. The General gave me one of his Aides de Camp, (Colonel *Humphreys*) * to conduct me to his

* He is at present Secretary of the Embassy to the court of France. This brave and excellent soldier is at the same time a poet of great talents: he is the author of a poem addressed to the American army, a work recently known in England, where, in spite of

his house, assured me that he should not be long in joining me, and he returned accordingly in half an hour. I saw him again with the same pleasure, but with a different sentiment from what he had inspired me with at our first interview. I felt that internal satisfaction, in which self-love has some share, but which we always experience in finding ourselves in an intimacy already formed, in real society with a man we have long admired without being able to approach him. It then seems as if this great man more peculiarly belongs to us than to the rest of mankind: heretofore we desired to

of the national jealousy, and the affectation of depreciating every thing American, it has had such success, as to have been several times publicly read in the manner of the ancients.—[The Marquis de Chastellux may be assured that it is not by that part of the English nation who are “jealous of America, and who affect to depreciate every thing American,” that the poem of Colonel Humphreys is admired, it is by that numerous and enlightened class of free spirits, who have always supported, and wished prosperity to the glorious struggle of America, who rejoiced at her success, and who look forward with hope and pleasure to her rising greatness.

TRANSLATOR.]

to see him; henceforth, so to speak, we exhibit him; we know him, we are better acquainted with him than others, have the same advantage over them, that a man having read a book through, has in conversation over him who is only at the beginning.

The General insisted on my lodging with him, though his house was much less than that he had at *Prakness*. Several officers, whom I had not seen at the army, came to dine with us. The principal of whom were Colonel *Malcomb*, a native of Scotland, but settled in America, where he has served with distinction in the continental army; he has since retired to his estate, and is now only a militia Colonel; Colonel Smith †, an

† The author having since been very intimate with Colonel Smith, can take upon himself to assert, that this young man is not only a very good soldier, but an excellent scholar. The manner of his entering into the service merits relation: He was designed for the profession of the law, and was finishing his studies at New-York, when the American army assembled there after the unfortunate affair of Long-Island. He immediately resolved to take arms in defence of his country, but his parents disapproving of this step, he enlisted as a common soldier, without making himself known, or pretending to any

an officer highly spoken of, and who commanded a battalion of light infantry under M. de la Fayette; Colonel *Humphreys*, the General's Aide de Camp, and several others whose names I have forgot, but who had all the best *ton*, and the easiest deportment. The dinner was excellent; tea succeeded dinner, and conversation succeeded tea, and lasted till supper. The war was frequently the subject: On asking the General which of our professional books he read with the most pleasure; he told me, the King of Prussia's Instructions

superior rank. Being one day on duty at the door of a General Officer, he was discovered by a friend of his family, who spoke of him to that General Officer. He was immediately invited to dinner; but he answered that he could not quit his duty; his corporal was sent for to relieve him, and he returned to his post after dinner. A few days only elapsed before that General Officer, charmed with his zeal, made him his Aide de Camp. In 1780, he commanded a battalion of light infantry, and the year following was made aide de camp to General Washington, with whom he remained until the peace.—[He is now Secretary to the Embassy to the court of Great Britain, and has lately married the daughter of his Excellency John Adams, Minister Plenipotentiary to that court. TRANSLATOR.]

Instructions to his Generals, and the Tactics of M. de Guibert ; from whence I concluded that he knew as well how to, select his authors as to profit by them.

I should have been very happy to accept of his pressing invitation to pass a few days with him, had I not made a solemn promise, at Philadelphia, to the Vicomte de Noailles, and his travelling companions, to arrive four-and-twenty hours after them if they stopped there, or at Albany if they went straight on. We were desirous of seeing *Stillwater* and *Saratoga*, and it would have been no easy matter for us to have acquired a just knowledge of that country had we not been together, because we reckoned upon General *Schuyler*, who could not be expected to make two journies to gratify our curiosity. I was thus far faithful to my engagement, for I arrived at New Windsor the same day that they left Cress Point ; I hoped to overtake them at Albany, and General Washington finding he could not retain me, was pleased himself to conduct me in his barge to the other side of the river. We got on shore at *Fish*

Kill Landing Place, to gain the eastern road, preferred by travellers to the western. I now quitted the General, but he insisted that Colonel Smith should accompany me as far as *Poughkenfie*. The road to this town passes pretty near Fish Kill, which we leave on the right, from thence we travel on the heights, where there is a beautiful and extensive prospect, and traversing a township, called *Middlebrook*, arrive at the creek, and at *Wapping Fall*. There I halted a few minutes to consider, under different points of view, the charming landscape formed by this river, as well from its cascade, which is roaring and picturesque, as from the groups of trees and rocks, which, combined with a number of saw mills and furnaces, compose the most capricious and romantic prospect.

It was only half past three when I got to Poughkenfie, where I intended sleeping; but finding that the *sessions* were then holding, and that all the taverns were full, I took advantage of the little remaining day to reach a tavern I was told of at three miles distance. Colonel Smith, who had

business at Poughkensie remained there, and I was very happy to find myself in the evening with nobody but my two Aides de Camp. It was, in fact, a new enjoyment for us to be left to ourselves, and at perfect liberty to give mutual accounts of the impression left on our minds by so many different objects. I only regretted not having seen Governor Clinton, for whom I had letters of recommendation. He is a man who governs with the utmost vigour and firmness, and is inexorable to the tories, whom he makes tremble, though they are very numerous: he has had the address to maintain in its duty this province, one extremity of which borders on Canada, the other on the city of New York. He was then at Poughkensie, but taken up with the business of the sessions: besides, Saratoga, and Burgoyne's different fields of battle, being henceforth the sole object of my journey, I was wishing to get forward for fear of being hindered by the snow, and of the roads becoming impassable. On my arrival at *Pride's Tavern*, I asked a number of questions of my landlord, respecting

the appearance he thought there was of a continuance, or a change of weather, and perceiving that he was a good farmer, I interrogated him on the subject of agriculture, and drew the following details from him. The land is very fertile in *Duchess County*, of which Poughkensie is the capital, as well as in the State of New-York, but it is commonly left fallow one year out of two or three, less from necessity than from there being more land than they can cultivate. A bushel of wheat at most is sown upon an acre, which renders twenty, and five-and-twenty for one. Some farmers sow oats on the land that has borne wheat the preceding year, but this grain in general is reserved for lands newly turned up: * flax is also a considerable object of cultivation: the land is ploughed with horses,

* Flax has become a very great and profitable article of cultivation in the Middle and Eastern States; the principal cultivators are settlers from the north of Ireland, who know the value of it in their own country. In Massachusetts, there is a very considerable and flourishing settlement, called Londonderry, peopled entirely by emigrants from that city, where they apply themselves particularly to the growth of flax.

TRANSLATOR.

horses, two or three to a plough; sometimes even a greater number when on new land, or that which has long lain fallow. Mr. Pride, while he was giving me these details, always flattered me with the hopes of fine weather the next day. I went to rest, highly satisfied with him and his prognostics; in the morning, however, when I awakened, I saw the ground already entirely white, and snow, which continued to fall in abundance, mixed with hail and ice. There was nothing to be done under such circumstances, but to continue my journey, as if it was fine weather, only taking a little better breakfast than I should otherwise have done. But I regretted most that the snow, or rather small hail that drove against my eyes, prevented me from seeing the country; which, as far as I could judge, is beautiful and well cultivated. After travelling about ten miles, I traversed the township of *Straßbourg*, called by the inhabitants of the country *Stratsborough*. This township is five or six miles long, yet the houses are not far from each other. As I was remarking one which was rather handsome, the

owner came to the door, doubtless from curiosity, and asked me, in French, if I would alight, and step in and dine with him. Nothing can be more seducing in bad weather than such a proposal; but on the other hand, nothing is more cruel, when one has once got under shelter, than to quit the fire side, a second time, to expose oneself to frost and snow.

I refused therefore the dinner offered me by this gallant man, but not the questions he put to me. I asked him, in my turn, whether he had not seen some French officers pass, meaning the Vicomte de Noailles, the Comte de Damas, and the Chevalier de Mauduit, who, as they had three or four servants, and six or seven horses, might have been remarked on the road. My Dutchman, for I have since learnt that his name is Le Roy,* a Dutch merchant,

* The Translator had the pleasure of being well acquainted with one of the sons of Mr. Le Roy, a most amiable young man, whom he knew at Amsterdam, when residing with his aunt Madame Chabanel, the widow of a rich merchant, who did a great deal of business with America previous to the

merchant, born in Europe, and acquainted with France, where he lived some time ; my Dutchman replied like a man who knew France, and who speaks French ; *Sir, it is very true that the Prince de Conti passed by here yesterday evening, with two officers, in their way to Albany.* I could not discover whether it was to the Vicomte de Noailles, or the Comte de Damas, that I ought to do homage for his principality ; but as they are both my relations, I answered with strict truth, that my cousin having gone on before, I was very glad to know at what hour they passed, and when I should be able to join them ; so that if Mr. Le Roy, as no doubt he did, consulted his almanack, he will have me set down for the Duke of Orleans, or the Duke of Chartres ; which was the more probable as I had nine horses with me, whilst the Prince de Conti, being

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war. He saw him afterwards at Philadelphia and Boston, and has only to regret, that his affairs rendered it impossible to accept of a kind invitation to pay him a visit at Stratford. Mrs. Chabanel's house, at Amsterdam, was open to all the Americans in Holland during the war.

TRANSLATOR.

farther removed from the crown, had only seven.

You scarcely get out of Strasboursgh, before you enter the township of *Rhynbeck*. It is unnecessary to observe, that all these names discover a German origin. At Rhynbeck, nobody came out to ask me to dinner. But this snow mixed with hail was so cold, and I was so fatigued with keeping my horse from slipping, that I should have stopped here even without being invited by the handsome appearance of the inn called *Thomas's Inn*. It was no more, however, than half past two; but as I had already come three-and-twenty miles, the house was good, the fire well lighted, my host a tall good looking man, a sportsman, a horse dealer, and disposed to chat, I determined, according to the English phrase, to spend the rest of my day there. The following is all I got interesting from Mr. Thomas. In time of peace, he carried on a great trade of horses, which he purchased in Canada, and sent to New York, there to be shipped for the West-Indies. It is incredible with what facility this trade is carried on in winter;

winter; he assured me that he once went to Montreal, and brought back with him, in a fortnight seventy-five horses which he bought there. This is effected by travelling in a right line, traversing Lake George upon ice and the snow, the desert between that Lake and Montreal. The Canadian horses easily travel eighteen or twenty hours a day, and three or four men, mounted, are sufficient to drive one hundred before them.

“ It was I, added Mr. Thomas, who made,
“ or rather who repaired the fortune of
“ that rogue, *Arnold*. He had conducted
“ his affairs ill, in the little trade he carried
“ on at Newhaven;* I persuaded him to
“ purchase

* Arnold was brought up to the business of an apothecary, being taken from his mother, out of charity, by Doctor Lothrop of Norwich in Connecticut, who was at once a physician, surgeon, apothecary, merchant and shopkeeper, as is usual in America; after his apprenticeship expired, his master gave him 500*l.* and letters of recommendation to his correspondents in London, by which means he obtained credit for some thousands, and returning to Connecticut, settled at Newhaven, set up an equipage, with ten horses, a carriage, and a number of servants, failed in two years, and was thrown into jail, where he remained till released by a bankrupt

“ purchase horses in Canada, and to go
“ himself and sell them at Jamaica. This
“ speculation alone was sufficient to pay
“ his debts, and set him once more afloat.”

After

act passed by the Assembly. He then first got with child, and afterwards married the daughter of Mr. Mansfield, High Sheriff of Newhaven, much against the will of the latter; who at length became reconciled to him, and employed him as a supercargo to the West-Indies, where he usually went in the spring, and returned in the autumn with molasses, rum, and sugar. In winter, he went amongst the Dutch towards the head of Hudson's River, and into Canada, with various sorts of woollen goods, such as stockings, caps, mittens, &c. &c. and also cheese, which sold to great profit in Canada. These articles he either exchanged for horses, or purchased them with the money arising from his Sales. With these horses, which generally made a part of a Connecticut cargo, together with poultry, corn, and fish, he went to the islands, whilst his father-in-law was selling the rum, molasses and sugars of the last voyage, and collecting woollens for Arnold's next winter trip to Canada. It was in these voyages that Arnold became an expert seaman, which qualified him for the command of the fleet on the lakes, where he behaved with his usual gallantry against a much superior enemy. The Translator had an opportunity, during his residence at *Porto Rico* during the war, of seeing several of these Connecticut sloops make very advan-

After talking of trade, we got to agriculture: he told me, that in the neighbourhood of Rhynbeck, the land was uncommonly fruitful, and that for a bushel of
sown

tageous sales of their little cargoes. After disembarking their horses, they ran their vessels up to the quay, and converted them into retail shops, where they dealt out their onions, potatoes, salt fish and apples, (an article which brought a very high price) in the smallest quantities, for which they received hard dollars, although *it is a fact*, that specie was uncommonly scarce in this *Spanish* island, almost all the intercourse being carried on in *paper dollars*, whilst the *French* part of the neighbouring island of Hispaniola was full of Spanish money, and the French fleet and army were paid in dollars from the Havannah. The Translator hopes that he shall here be pardoned a digression on the subject of this *charming island*, which in the hands of any other nation would certainly become one of the most valuable possessions in the American Archipelago. Its central situation between the windward and leeward islands, its capacious harbour, the number of springs and rivers with which it is watered, (the latter abounding with fish) the excellence of its soil, the greatest part of which is nearly in a virgin state, the strong position of the peninsula of St. John, are advantages, which if in the possession of a great *active* maritime power, such as France or England, can scarcely be appreciated. In the posses-

sown wheat, he reaped from thirty to forty. The corn is so abundant that they do not take the trouble of cutting it with a sickle, but mow it like hay. Some dogs of a beautiful

sion of Spain, it is at most but a negative advantage; for I am well assured that the King only receives the inconsiderable revenue of 100,000 piasters from this island, whilst he expended, in the course of the late war, no less than *eight millions* on the fortifications, which I had the *very singular favour* to visit, accompanied by the first engineer, and the strength of which is now deemed not less formidable than those of fort Moro, and the Havannah. Nor could England, with her then force in the West-Indies, have attacked this island with any prospect of success, though many persons in Jamaica were sanguine for such an expedition. Besides an immense train of very fine artillery, three of the best regiments in the Spanish service were there in garrison, in full health, viz. the regiments de *Bruxelles*, de *la Couronne*, and de *la Victoire*, and a most numerous militia. Indeed, so secure did they think themselves, that they embarked, when I was there, the regiment de la Couronne, consisting of 1200 men for Carthagena. The interior of the country, which I was likewise allowed to visit, is delightful; land may be had for nothing, but every settler must not only be a catholic, but a rigid one, *the Inquisition* having an officer here: he must likewise marry, and wretched is his choice, within a year; nor is he ever allowed to remove any

beautiful kind moving about the house, awakened my passion for the chase; on asking Mr. Thomas what use he made of them, he told me, that they were only for hunting the fox; that deer, stags, and bears, were pretty common in the country, but they seldom killed them except in winter, either by tracing on the snow, or by tracking them in the woods. All American conversation must finish with politics. Those of Mr. Thomas appeared to me rather equivocal; he was too rich, and complained too much of

property from the island, should he wish to quit it, except what he can carry off clandestinely. Several Irish are settled here, but all under the predicament of sacrificing to the most gloomy superstition, the most arbitrary jealousy of despotic power, and to the most horrid state of nuptial slavery, with the ugliest and filthiest of women. The officers of the *Dragon* man of war of 60 guns, and of the frigates which were lying there, and the military in garrison were anxious to peruse the European and American Gazettes I had with me, but even this communication was obliged to be confined to very few, and under the strictest injunctions of secrecy, for our mutual safety. In other respects it is impossible to have met with a more hospitable reception.

TRANSLATOR.

of the flour he furnished for the army, to let me think him a good whig. He gave himself out for such notwithstanding, but I observed that he was greatly attached to an opinion *which I found generally diffused throughout the state of New York; that there is no expedition more useful, nor more easy than the conquest of Canada. It is impossible to conceive the ardour the inhabitants of the north still have to recommence that enterprize.* The reason is, that their country is so fertile, and so happily situated for commerce, that they are sure to become very wealthy as soon as they have nothing to fear from the savages; now the savages are only formidable when they are supported and animated by the English.

I left Thomas's Inn the 23d, at 8 in the morning, and travelled three hours always in *Livingston's Manor*. The road was good, and the country rich and well cultivated. We pass several considerable villages, the houses of which are handsome and neat, and every object here announces prosperity. On leaving this district, we enter that of *Claverack*, then descend from the hills, and approach Hudson's River. We soon after
come

come to a creek, which is also called by the name of Claverack, and which falls not far from this into the Hudson. As soon as you have passed this creek, an immense rock, which runs across in the direction of the road, obliges you to turn to the right to reach Claverack Meeting-house, and to pursue the road to Albany. This rock, or rather chain of rocks, merits all the attention of naturalists. It is about three miles in length. As I did not traverse it, I am ignorant of its width, but it is so steep to the south, that it can be ascribed to nothing but a shrinking of the earth, occasioned by a violent shock. Yet one does not find, either in the space between this rock and the little river, or on the opposite bank, any correspondence with the accidental separation it announces. Its flank, which is almost exposed, presents parallel beds, but rarely horizontal, which made me conjecture that it was of a calcareous nature; * I tried

* The Marquis having, in his account of *Totahaw Falls*, observed that there is little or no calcareous stone in *this country*, by which I am at a loss to know whether he means the state of New Jersey, where he then was, or the United States in general;

tried it with aqua fortis, and found my conjecture just. But I was the most struck with the strength and beauty of the trees which grow in the midst of it, the trunks of which rise out of the chinks formed by the separation of the rock. Unless you closely examine these trees, it is impossible to believe that they can grow, and get to such a height without an inch of earth to nourish their roots. Several of them grow horizontally, to a certain distance, and then assume a vertical direction. Others have their roots quite naked, which proves that their origin is prior to the catastrophe, whatever it was, which one cannot refuse admitting. These roots are in the most whimsical directions imaginable, resembling serpents crawling amidst the ruins of an immense edifice. The principal part of the trees I speak of, are of that sort of fir called

I take this opportunity of mentioning, that limestone abounds in a great part of the Continent; the interior parts of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia in particular, are intersected by immense strata of this invaluable stone, which lie every where exposed to the day, or very near the surface.

called *hemlock* by the English, but they are mixed with others, which I took to be walnut-trees, and other white wood; but I must observe that this conjecture cannot be relied on, as I did not see the leaves, and am not well enough acquainted with trees to distinguish by their branches and their structure.*

Cleverack is a pretty considerable township, and extends very far. On quitting it you traverse several woods to arise at the first houses of *Kinderhook*. I found in these woods new improvements, and several log-huts.† But on approaching one of them,

* With great submission to the author, he appears to have laid a greater stress on this phenomenon than it has any claim to from its singularity; every mountainous country in Europe abounds with such appearances, which, though curious, may possibly be accounted for on principles more simple, and less *systematical*, than those great convulsions so enthusiastically imagined by the disciples of the *Buffonic* school. The Translator too owns himself ignorant of the species of *fir*, called *hemlock* by the English.

TRANSLATOR.

† Huts made of the trunks of trees, laid horizontally on each other, and the interstices filled with earth, or clay.

I perceived, with regret, that the family who inhabited it had been long settled there, without thinking of building a better house, an uncommon circumstance in America, and which is almost unexampled, except in the Dutch settlements; for that people are more oeconomic than industrious, and are more desirous of amassing wealth than of adding to their comfort. When you arrive at the first hamlet of Kinderhook, you must make a long circuit to reach the meeting-house, which is in the centre of what may be properly called the town of Kinderhook. There you pass a pretty considerable stream, and have the choice of three or four inns; but the best is that of Mr. *Van Burragh*. The preference given to this, however, does no honour to the others; it is a very small house, kept by two young people of a Dutch family; they are civil and attentive, and you are not badly off with them, provided you are not difficult to please. It would have ill become me now to have been so, for I had nothing but snow, hail, and frost during the
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the whole day, and any fireside was an agreeable asylum for me.

It was a difficult question to know where I should the next day pass the north river, for I was told that it was neither sufficiently broken to cross it on the ice, nor free enough from flakes to venture it in a boat. Apprized of these obstacles, I set out early on the 24th, that I might have time to discover the easiest passage. I was only twenty miles from Albany; so that after a continued journey through a forest of fir trees, I arrived at one o'clock on the banks of the *Hudson*. The vale in which this river runs, and the town of Albany, which is built in the form of an amphitheatre on its western bank, must have afforded a very agreeable coup d'œil, had it not been disfigured by the snow. A handsome house half way up the bank opposite the ferry, seems to attract attention, and to invite strangers to stop at General *Schuyler's*, who is the proprietor as well as architect. I had recommendations to him from all quarters, but particularly from General Washington and Mrs. *Carter*. I had besides given the ren-

devoted to Colonel Hamilton, who had just married another of his daughters,* and was preceded

* Colonel Hamilton is so well known by all those who have had any connection with America, that it would be unnecessary to point him out more particularly, were not this journal, at length destined for publication, likely to fall into the hands of several readers who were ignorant of, or have forgotten, many details relative to this revolution, to which their attention may be still awakened. Colonel Hamilton, a native of Sainte Croix, and some time settled in America, was destined to the profession of the law, and had scarcely completed his studies, when General Washington, versed as all great men are in the discovery of talents, and in the employment of them, made him at once his Aide de Camp and Secretary, a post as eminent as important in the American army. From that time his correspondence with the French, which language he speaks and writes perfectly well, the details of every kind, political and military, entrusted to him, developed those talents, the General had known how to discover, and put in activity; whilst the young soldier, by a prudence and secrecy still more beyond his age, than his information, justified the confidence with which he was honoured. He continued to serve in this capacity till the year 1781, when desirous of distinguishing himself in the command of troops, as he had done in all his other functions, he took that of a battalion of light infantry. It was at the head of this battalion, that jointly with M. de Gimat, he

preceded by the Vicomte de Noailles, and the Comte de Damas, who I knew were arrived the night before. The sole difficulty therefore consisted in passing the river. Whilst the boat was making its way

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with

carried by assault one of the enemy's redoubts at the siege of York Town. The reader will perhaps be surprised to hear, that the next year, before the peace was made, Mr. Hamilton turned advocate, and became a member of Congress. The explanation of this enigma is, that the war being considered as at an end, it was necessary for him to think of his fortune, which was very inconsiderable. Now the profession of a *lawyer*, which comprehends those of attorney and notary, is not only the most respectable in America, but likewise the most lucrative; and there is no doubt that, with such talents and such knowledge, Mr. Hamilton must be in peace, as well as in war, one of the most considerable citizens in his new country. At present he is settled at New-York.—[To this just eulogium, the Translator takes the liberty of adding, that Colonel Hamilton is a most elegant writer, and a perfectly accomplished gentleman, and as such could not fail of distinguishing himself in the first European circles. His account of the behaviour and death of the unfortunate *Andre*, to which he was a witness, published at the time in the American and English prints, does equal honour to his understanding and his heart.

TRANSLATOR.

with difficulty through the flakes of ice, which we were obliged to break as we advanced, Mr. Lynch, who is not indifferent about a good dinner, contemplating General Schuyler's house, mournfully says to me, *I am sure the Vicomte and Damas are now at table, where they have good cheer, and good company, whilst we are here kicking our heels, in hopes of getting this evening to some wretched alehouse.* I partook a little of his anxiety, but diverted myself by assuring him that they saw us from the windows, that I even distinguished the Vicomte de Noailles who was looking at us through a telescope, and that he was going to send somebody to conduct us on our landing to that excellent house, where we should find dinner ready to come on table; I even pretended that a sledge I had seen descending towards the river was designed for us. As chance would have it, never was conjecture more just. The first person we saw on shore, was the Chevalier de Mauduit, who was waiting for us with the General's sledge, into which we quickly stepped, and were conveyed in an instant into a handsome saloon,
near

near a good fire, with Mr. Schuyler, his wife and daughters. Whilst we were warming ourselves, dinner was served, to which every one did honour, as well as to the Madeira, which was excellent, and made us completely forget the rigour of the season, and the fatigue of the journey.

General Schuyler's family was composed of Mrs. Hamilton, his second daughter, who has a mild agreeable countenance; of Miss Peggy Schuyler, whose features are animated and striking; of another charming girl, only eight years old, and of three boys, the eldest of whom is fifteen, and are the handsomest children you can see. He is himself about fifty, but already gouty and infirm. His fortune is very considerable, and it will become still more so, for he possesses an immense extent of territory, but derives more credit from his talents and information than from his wealth. He served with General Amherst in the Canadian war, as Deputy Quarter-Master General. From that period he made himself known, and became distinguished; he was very useful to the English, and was sent for to Lon-

don after the peace, to settle the accounts of every thing furnished by the Americans. His marriage with Miss *Ransfeleer*, the rich heiress of a family which has given its name to a district, or rather a whole province, still added to his credit and his influence; so that it is not surprising he should be raised to the rank of Major General at the beginning of the war, and have the command of the troops on the frontiers of Canada. It was in this capacity, that he was commissioned in 1777 to oppose the progress of General Burgoyne; but having received orders from Congress, directly contrary to his opinion, without being provided with any means necessary for carrying them into execution, he found himself obliged to evacuate Ticonderoga, and fall back on the Hudson. These measures, undoubtedly prudent in themselves, being unfavourably construed in a moment of ill humour and anxiety, he was tried by a Court Martial, as well as General Sinclair, his second in command, and both of them were soon after *honourably acquitted*. Sinclair resumed his station in the army, but
General

General Schuyler, justly offended, demanded more satisfactory reparation, and reclaimed his rank, which, since this event, was contested with him by two or three Generals of the same standing. This affair not being settled, he did not rejoin the army, but continued his services to his country. Elected a member of Congress the year following, he was nearly chosen President in opposition to Mr. Laurens; since that time he has always enjoyed the confidence of the government, and of General Washington, who are at present paying their court to him, and pressing him to accept the office of Secretary at War.

Whilst we were in this excellent asylum, the weather continued doubtful, between frost and thaw; there was a little snow upon the ground, and it was probable there soon would be a fall. The council of travellers assembled, and it appeared to them proper not to delay their departure for Saratoga. General Schuyler offered us a house which he has upon his own estate; but he could not serve us as a guide, on account of an indisposition, and his apprehension

hension of a fit of the gout. He proposed giving us an intelligent officer to conduct us to the different fields of battle, whilst his son should go before to prepare us lodgings. We could still travel on horseback, and were supplied with horses of the country to replace ours which were fatigued, and a part of which still remained on the other side of the river. All these arrangements being accepted, we were conveyed to Albany in a sledge. On our arrival, we waited on Brigadier General Clinton, to whom I delivered my letters of recommendation. He is an honest man, but of no distinguished talents, and is only employed out of respect to his brother the Governor. He immediately ordered the horses for our journey, and Major *Popham*, his Aide de Camp, an amiable and intelligent officer, was desired to conduct us. He was to take with him Major *Græme*, who knows properly the ground, and served in the army under General Gates.

All our measures being well concerted, we each of us retired to our quarters; the Vicomte de Noailles and his two companions

nions to an inn, kept by a Frenchman, called *Louis*, and I to that of an American of the name of *Blennissens*. At day-break, tea was ready, and the whole caravan assembled at my quarters; but melted snow was falling, which did not promise an agreeable ride. We were in hopes that it was a real thaw, and set out upon our journey. The snow however fell thicker and thicker, and was six inches deep when we arrived at the junction of the *Mohawk* with the Hudson's river. Here is a choice of two roads to Saratoga: one obliges you to pass the Hudson, to keep some time along the left bank, and pass it a second time near the *Half-Moon*; the other goes on the Mohawk river till you get above the *Cataract*, when you pass that river, and traverse the woods to *Stillwater*. Even had there been no difficulty in passing the North river on account of the ice, I should have preferred the other road, to see the cascade of *Coboes*, which is one of the wonders of America. Before we left the Hudson, I remarked an island in the middle of its bed, which offers a very advantageous position for erecting

ing batteries, to defend the navigation. The two Majors, to whom I communicated this observation, told me that this point of defence was neglected, because there was a better one, a little higher up, at the extremity of one of the three branches into which the Mohawk river divides itself, in falling into the Hudson. They added that this position was very slightly reconnoitred; that which was begun to be fortified higher up, being sufficient to stop the progress of the enemy. Thus the more you examine the country, the more you are convinced that the expedition of Burgoyne was extravagant, and must sooner or later have miscarried, independent of the engagements which decided the event.

The junction of the two rivers is six miles north of Albany, and after travelling two more in the woods, we began to hear a murmuring noise, which increased till we came in sight of *Coboes Fall*. This cataract is the whole breadth of the river, that is to say, near two hundred toises, about 1200 English feet wide. It is a vast sheet of water, which falls 76 English feet.

feet.* The river in this place is contracted between two steep banks formed by the declivity of the mountains ; these precipices are covered by an earth as black as iron ore, and on which nothing grows but firs and cypresses. The course of the river is straight, both before and after its fall, and the rocks forming this cascade are nearly on a level, but their irregular figure breaks the water whilst it is falling, and forms a variety of whimsical and picturesque appearances. This picture was rendered still more terrible by the snow which covered the firs, the brilliancy of which gave a black colour to the water, gliding gently along, and a yellow tinge to that which was dashing over the cataract.

After

* Madame la Comtesse de Genlis in speaking of this cataract in one of the notes to her *Veilles du Chateau*, says it is only 50 feet, but from other accounts confirming this of M. de Chastellux, I am inclined to think, that it is between 70 and 80 feet. This invaluable, and correct writer, the pride of her son, and of humanity, has in this instance been unavoidably misled by the American travellers she consulted.

TRANSLATOR.

After feasting our eyes with this awful spectacle, we travelled a mile higher up to the ferry where we hoped to pass the river ; but on our arrival, found the boat so entangled in the ice and snow, that it was impossible to make use of it. We were assured, that people had passed a ferry two miles higher, that morning, whither we immediately went, determined to pursue our route, though the snow was greatly increased, and we were benumbed with wet and cold. The boatmen of this ferry made many objections on account of the bad weather and the smallness of their boat, which could only transport three horses at a time ; but this difficulty did not stop us, and we agreed to make several trips. The first attempt was made to pass over my Valet de Chambre, with three horses : I was waiting by the fireside for my turn, when they came to inform me that the boat was coming back to shore, with some difficulty, and that the current had almost driven it towards the cataract. We were obliged therefore to submit to our destiny, which was not yet disposed to let us fulfil the object

ject of our voyage. On this occasion I displayed a magnanimity which placed me high in the esteem of the whole company: whilst others were storming, and growing impatient, uncertain of the measures to be taken, I serenely gave the signal for a retreat, and thought no more of any thing but supper, for which I made the most prudent dispositions on the spot. The innkeeper of M. de Noailles being a Frenchman, and consequently a better cook, or at least more active than mine, it was decided that he should provide our supper: the best mounted cavalier of the troop was dispatched to give the necessary orders, whom we followed in half an hour; we arrived as night was coming on, and presently sat down to table. Thus passed the day's work of the 25th, which was not very agreeable till the hour of supper, but terminated very happily; for what consolation does not one derive under disappointment, from a good fire, a good supper, and good company?

The 26th, the rivers not being yet frozen, nor the roads hard enough to make a long journey in a sledge, I determined to remain at Albany. My morning was em-

employed in adjusting my notes, which occupation was only interrupted by a visit from Colonel Hamilton. He told us that Mrs. Schuyler was a little indisposed, but that the General would be equally glad to receive us. Accordingly he sent us his fledges the beginning of the evening. We found him in his saloon with Mr. and Mrs. Hamilton. A conversation soon took place between the General, the Vicomte de Noailles and me. We had already talked, when we were last with him, of some important faults relative to the northern campaigns, of which we had asked some explanations. Mr. Schuyler appeared no less desirous of giving them. He is pretty communicative, and is well entitled to be so; his conversation is easy and agreeable; he knows well what he says, and expresses himself well on every thing he knows. To give the best answer to our questions, he proposed to us to read his political and military correspondence with General Washington, which we accepted with great pleasure, and leaving the rest of the company with Mr. and Mrs. Hamilton, we retired into another room.

room. The General opening his pocket-book, the Vicomte and I divided the different manuscripts, containing upwards of sixty pages of close writing on paper *à la Tellere*. The first dispatch I read was a letter written by him to General Washington, in November 1777: it contained a *plan of attack on Canada*, which originated in the following circumstance: Two English officers, after being made prisoners with Burgoyne's army, obtained permission to return to Canada on their parole, and on the road stopped at General Schuyler's at Saratoga. The conversation, as we may easily suppose, soon turned on the great event, the impression of which was so recent. One of these officers being attached to General Burgoyne, criminated Governor Sir Guy Carleton, whom he accused of having retained too many troops in Canada; the States maintained that he had not even reserved sufficient for the defence of the country. From assertions they came to proofs, which proofs could only be *an exact detail of all the forces then remaining in Canada, and their distribution*. General Schuyler was at-

tentive, and took advantage of the dispute. He learns by this means, that Canada was in real danger; and proposed, in consequence, to General Washington to retake Ticonderoga, in case that post was not abandoned, as it actually has been, and to proceed from thence to Montreal. This plan is extremely well conceived, and exhibits a great knowledge of the country; and what struck me as the most worthy of attention, is the immensity of the resources to be found in this country for a winter expedition, and the extreme facility with which an army may rapidly advance, by the means of sledges to transport the provisions and stores, and even sick and lame soldiers. It is possible, in a month's time, to collect, between the Connecticut and Hudson's River, fifteen hundred sledges, two thousand horses and as many oxen; the latter may be shod for the ice, like horses, and serve to draw the sledges with provisions; and as these are consumed, or the oxen fatigued, they may be slain for the food of the army. Nor must it be imagined that these expeditions are so dreadful for the soldiers

liers as we are accustomed to suppose them. With the feet and legs well fortified, and proper clothing, which it was easy to procure before the finances and resources of the country were exhausted, they support extremely well the fatigue of long marches; and as they pass all the night in the woods, they easily find shelter, and light great fires, by which they sleep better than under tents; for it is to be observed, that if the cold be severe in this country, it is always a dry cold, against which it is much more easy to provide than against rain and moisture.

General Schuyler never received any answer to this letter, nor does he know with whom the fault lies. M. de la Fayette however came to Albany in January to prepare and command an expedition similar to that he had projected: he shewed his instructions to General Schuyler, who discovered it to be his own plan, of which he supposes some other person wished to claim the honour; but as no orders had come to him, he had made no preparations, nor were there any made on the side of Connecticut; so that M. de la Fayette, how agreeable

soever this expedition might be to him, had so much good sense and attachment to the interest of America, to admit the difficulties, and divert Congress from pursuing it.

The winter following, after the evacuation of Philadelphia, and the affair of Monmouth, General Washington, always more occupied in putting an end to the misfortunes of his country, than in prolonging the duration of the brilliant part he was acting in America, wrote to Mr. Schuyler, to consult him on an expedition to Canada, and on the means of executing it with success. In answer to this letter, he sent a memoir perfectly well conceived, and no less well written, in which he proposed three different plans. The first was to collect his forces near the sources of the Connecticut, at a place called *Coos*; from thence there is only a trifling carrying place to the rivers which fall into the St. Lawrence, below Lake *Saint Pierre*, near to Quebec. But this plan would be difficult of execution, from the scarcity of resources on the Connecticut river, and from the great difficulties

ties to be encountered in approaching those to be provided on the Hudson and Mohawk rivers, besides that the attack would thus be carried into the heart of the English forces, and too near the sea, from whence they derive their principal aid. The second project was to remount the Mohawk river, then to embark on Lake *Oneida*, and crossing Lake *Ontario*, proceed westward to besiege *Niagara*; then returning by the same route, to descend the river, and attack Montreal by the north. In this plan, General Schuyler foresaw two great inconveniencies; one, from the long circuit it would be necessary to make, thus giving the English time to collect their troops at the point of attack; the other from the impossibility there was of deceiving the enemy by threatening them on the side of Lake Champlain, and *Sorel*, since the preparations on the Mohawk and Hudson's River could not fail of disclosing the whole system of the campaign. It was by Lake Champlain therefore, and in the winter, that General Schuyler proposed marching directly to Montreal; leaving *St. John's* on the

right,

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right, and postponing the attack of that post till spring, which was not to be secured, before the Isle of Montreal, and *all the upper country* should be got possession of: on this plan there would be no difficulty in concealing its real object; as the necessary preparations might be collected on the rivers Hudson and Connecticut; the shifting from one to the other being an easy measure. Thus the enemy would be alarmed at once for Quebec, St. John's, and Montreal. On this supposition, it is probable they would prefer sacrificing Montreal. There an advantageous establishment might be formed, and measures taken to attack Quebec; but in case of their being obliged to abandon it, an easy retreat would always be secured by the *Beaver hunting Place*,* and Lake Champlain. Such was the object of this long dispatch, which I read with great attention, and much pleasure, and of which I have attempted to give some

* This is the name given in the English charts to the deserts between Lake *Ontario*, the River St. Lawrence, and the Lakes George and Champlain, and the River of Sorel.

some idea, convinced as I am that this article of my journal will not be uninteresting to military men ; others may render it amusing, by surveying the chart, and running over the immense country embraced by these different projects.

The next memoir which fell into my hands, was the answer of General Washington. After testifying the greatest confidence in General Schuyler, he enters into discussion with him, and offers his reflections with a modesty as amiable, as worthy of estimation. He is of opinion that the expedition by Lake Ontario is perhaps too highly rejected without sufficient reason ; that it would be easy for him to favour the attack of Niagara, by a diversion he could make on lake *Erie*, by marching the Virginia troops on the side of the *Ohio* and Fort *Pitt* : he inquires whether it be possible to build boats on Hudson's river, and transport them on carriages to the Mohawk ; his object in this was evidently to obviate one of the principal objections I have mentioned ; that the preparations for this expedition revealed too much the real object. All the other points are

treated with wisdom and precision ; which renders the reply of General Schuyler still more curious and interesting. It is worthy both of the importance of the subject, and of the great man to whom it is addressed. Mr. Schuyler persists in his opinion ; and invariably attached to his project of attack by Lake Champlain, he proves that it may be executed in summer as well as in winter. Every thing depends, according to him, on possessing a naval superiority,* which he is

* From these accounts it appears very evident that General Carleton acted with great prudence in retaining the force he did in Canada, for which he has been blamed by some, when Burgoyne went on his expedition ; in the catastrophe of which, 1500 or 2000 men more would probably have made little difference, but the want of which would have totally enfeebled the defence of Canada, and thrown that province into the hands of the United States. The American ideas too, on the subject of an expedition into Canada, and which may possibly be carried into execution at some future period, merit the attention of the English Government, more particularly as America, since she is put in possession of the Kennebee, and the boundary line cuts the Sorel river below Lake Champlain, can now carry on her operations at her ease, and unmolested on the lakes, and by Arnold's route ; but, in fact, Canada must, on a

is of opinion may be easily obtained by constructing larger vessels than those of the English,

rupture, follow the fortune of the United States; that province can only be prevented from falling rapidly before such a force as the Eastern States can put in motion, by *very strong* forts built at the head of the *Kennebec*, *St. Croix*, and *Connecticut* rivers, by forts on *both* sides of the Sorel, where cut by the boundary line, on *both* sides the St. Lawrence where it joins that river, at *the head* of the carrying place above Niagara, on the English side, where a new carrying place must, if possible, be formed, and *opposite* the fort of Detroit and Michilimazance. All must be *strong, regular* works, capable of containing garrisons with stores sufficient to stop the progress of an enemy's army, till relief can arrive from the interior of the country, where 6 or 8000 regular forces must be kept, besides strong garrisons at Quebec, and Montreal, the fortifications of which must be repaired and strengthened. Unless England be determined to adopt, and rigorously to maintain all these necessary defences, perhaps after all inadequate, it is impossible that Canada should long resist an American expedition. On such a tenure, and at such an enormous expence, will that province be worth holding? Mr. *Payne*, in his admirable letter to the Abbé Raynal, makes the following judicious observations on this subject:—"Respecting *Canada*, one
" or other of these two events will take place; viz. if
" *Canada* should become populous, it will revolt; and
" if

English, and he is persuaded that two fifty gun ships would be sufficient to secure it.

People

“ if it do not become so, it will not be worth the ex-
 “ pence of holding. But Canada *never will* become
 “ populous; Britain may put herself to great expences
 “ in sending settlers to Canada, but the descendants of
 “ those settlers will be Americans, as other descend-
 “ ants have been before them. They will look round
 “ and see the neighbouring States sovereign and free,
 “ respected abroad, and trading at large with the
 “ world; and the natural love of liberty, the advan-
 “ tages of commerce, the blessings of independence,
 “ and of a *happier climate and a richer soil* will draw
 “ them *southward*, and the effects will be, that Bri-
 “ tain will sustain the expence, and America reap
 “ the advantage, and the same may be said of *Ha-*
 “ *lifax* and the country round it. One would think
 “ that the experience Britain has had of America,
 “ would entirely sicken her of all thoughts of *conti-*
 “ *mental* colonization; and any part she may retain,
 “ will only become to her a field of jealousy and
 “ thorns, of debate and contention, for ever strug-
 “ gling for privileges, and meditating revolt. She may
 “ form *new settlements*, but they will be for us; *they*
 “ *will become part of the United States of America*; and
 “ that against all her contrivances to prevent it, or
 “ without any endeavour of ours to promote it. In
 “ the first place, she cannot draw from them a revenue
 “ until they are able to pay one, and when they
 “ are so, they will be above subjection. Men soon
 “ become attached to the soil they live upon, and
 “ incorporated

People are wrong, added he, in dreading the navigation of the Lakes, and in not daring to

“ incorporated with the prosperity of the place ; and
 “ it signifies but little what opinions they come over
 “ with, for time, interest, and new connections will
 “ render them obsolete, and the next generation
 “ know nothing of them.——To speak explicitly
 “ on the matter, I would not, were I an European,
 “ have Canada, under the conditions that Britain
 “ must retain it, could it be given to me. It is
 “ one of those kinds of dominion that is, and
 “ ever will be, a constant charge upon any foreign
 “ holder.——There are, I doubt not, thousands
 “ of people in England, who suppose that Canada
 “ and Nova Scotia are a profit to the nation, whereas
 “ they are directly the contrary, and instead of
 “ producing any revenue, a considerable part of the
 “ revenue of England is annually drawn off to sup-
 “ port the expence of holding them,”——What
 it costs England to maintain Canada alone, may be
 known from the following accurate *abstract*, verified
 by the treasury accounts, of the *expences of that Pro-*
vince, from the 1st of June 1776, to the 24th of Octo-
ber 1782, being six years and four months.

Military—Ordinaries,	£ 688,385 : 18 : 2½
Extraordinaries,	4,510,790 : 12 : 7
Civil Establishment and Contingencies, }	100,343 : 8 : 9
Total, - - -	£ 5,299,519 : 19 : 6½
Which for 6 years and 4 months is, }	£ 836,766 : 6 : 3 per ann.

to trust large ships on them. On all these subjects, he speaks as an enterprising, well informed man ; and capable of executing what he proposes. I shall conclude this detail, by giving the project of a campaign against the savages, different from that adopted by Congress in 1779, the execution of which was entrusted to General Sullivan. According to this, five hundred men only should have marched by *Wioming* and *Tioga*, whilst the remainder of the army made its appearance by the head of the Mohawk river, and Lake *Meida*, to take the savages in the rear, and cut off their retreat to Lake Ontario ; which appeared to me reasonable, because by this means, the double object was fulfilled of destroying the savages, and of avoiding a long

It is true that the war extraordinaries must not be taken into the estimate of a peace establishment ; but will not the independence of the United States render a larger force necessary than during the former peace, besides the garrisons above mentioned, &c. and is war so very improbable in that quarter ? Perhaps the most fortunate event for Britain will be, to receive the news, some spring or other, after the opening of the St. Lawrence, that Canada has been taken in the winter, with little or no bloodshed.

TRANSLATOR.

a long and difficult march for the main body of the army, across the *Great Swamp* of Wioming.

To comprehend this, it must be recollected, that in 1779, the Congress, seeing their enemies confined to New-York and Rhode Island, thought they might spare a body of troops of three or four thousand men against the five nations, of whose cruelties they had many proofs. The plan was to carry off or destroy them, and thus relieve the country lying between the *Sasquahannah* and the *Delaware*. General Sullivan, after taking every sort of precaution to secure the subsistence and health of the soldiers, made a very long and well conducted march, drove the savages before him, and burnt their villages and harvests. But this was the whole fruit of his expedition, for he never had it in his power to cut them off; the corps under General Clinton, which had penetrated by the Mohawk river, being found too weak to act of itself, was obliged to join the main body of the army.

I did

I did not finish my reading before ten o'clock; and I continued in conversation with General Schuyler, whilst the company was at supper. It cannot be supposed that I was able to reason upon all the subjects he had laid before me. I contented myself therefore with remarking that every partial expedition against Canada, and which did not tend to the total conquest, or rather the deliverance of that country, would be dangerous and ineffectual; as it would not be strengthened by the concurrence of the inhabitants, they having been already deceived in their expectations in Montgomery's expedition, and dreading the resentment of the English, should they a second time shew themselves favourable to the Americans. It gave me pleasure to find him of the same opinion. We then separated well pleased with each other, and I returned home to await the decision of the weather, respecting the next day's journey.

The 27th in the morning, understanding that the rivers were not yet frozen, and the weather being fine but very cold, I wished to take advantage of it to go to *Schenectady*.

dy. This is a town situated 14 miles from Albany, on the Mohawk river. It excites some curiosity, from being built in the very country of the savages; from its being picketed, that is to say, surrounded with lofty palisades, like their villages, and from their still retaining some habitations there, which form a sort of suburb, to the east of the town. It was rather late when I thought of this ride, and it was noon before I got a sledge; but General Schuyler had assured me that I should be there in two hours, on the supposition, doubtless, that my sledge would be better provided with horses. I found the roads very bad, and the horses still worse; for they would not draw, and if M. de Montesquieu had not himself taken the reins, and pressed them forward with more vivacity than their merciful conductor, I believe I should have remained in the snow, with which this country is covered six months in the year. The country which lies between Albany and Schenectady, is nothing but an immense forest of pine-trees, untouched by the hatchet. They are lofty and robust, but thin sown; and

as nothing grows under their shade, a line of cavalry might traverse this wood without breaking their ranks, or defiling. It was three o'clock, and myself half dead with cold when I reached Schenectady. This town stands at the foot of a small declivity, on your coming out of the woods; it is regularly built, and contains five hundred houses within the palisades, without reckoning some dwellings which form a suburb, and the Indian village adjoining to the suburb. Two families, and eight inhabitants, are reckoned to a house. Beyond the town, to the westward, the country is more open, and the land very fertile; it produces a great deal of corn, of which they carry on a great trade. I alighted at Colonel *Glen's*, the Quarter-Master-General of this district, a lively, active man. He received me in the politest manner; an excellent fire, and two or three glasses of toddy, warmed me, so as to enable me to ask him some questions, and to return immediately, for night was coming on, and the Vicomte de Noailles expected me at dinner at five o'clock. Colonel Glen lent me horses to return to Albany,

bany, and was so good as to conduct me himself into the Indian village. As we were preparing to set out, one of these savages entered his house: he was a messenger dispatched by their hunters, who came to inform him of a party of one hundred and fifty *Senecas*, and several tories, making their appearance a few miles from Saratoga, and having even carried off one of their young men. This messenger spoke very good French, and very bad English; born of a Canadian, or European father, he had mixed with the savages, amongst whom he had lived twenty years, rather from libertinism than any other motive. The news he brought was not very encouraging for the journey I was about to take, but I gave little credit to it, and I was in the right.

The Indian village Mr. Glen conducted me to, is nothing but an assemblage of miserable huts in the wood, along the road to Albany. He took me into that of a savage *du Saut Saint Louis*, who had long lived at Montreal, and spoke good French. These huts are like our barracks in time of war, or those run up in vineyards, or orchards,

to watch the fruit when it is ripe. All the timber consists in two up-rights and one cross pole ; it is covered with a matted roof, but this is well lined within by a quantity of bark. The inner space is rather below the level of the ground, and the entrance by a little side-door ; in the middle of the hut is the fire-place, from which the smoke ascends by an opening in the roof. On each side of the fire, are raised two branches, which run the length of the hut, and serve to sleep on ; these are covered with skins and bark. Beside the savage who spoke French, in this hut, there was a *squah*, the name given to the Indian women, who had taken him as her second, and was bringing up a child by her first husband ; two old men composed the remainder of the family, which had a melancholy and poor appearance. The *squah* was hideous, as they all are, and her husband almost stupid, so that the charms of this society did not make me forget that the day was advancing, and that it was time to set out. All that I could learn from the Colonel, or from the savages, was, that the State gives them rations of meat, and some-
4 times

times of flour; that they possess also some land, where they sow Indian corn, and go a hunting for skins, which they exchange for rum. They are sometimes employed in war, and are commended for their bravery and fidelity. Though in subjection to the Americans, they have their chiefs, to whom application is made for justice, when an Indian has committed any crime. Mr. Glen told me, that they submitted to the punishments inflicted on them; but had no idea that it was right to punish them with death, even for homicide. Their number at present is 350; which is constantly diminishing, as well as that of *the five nations*. I do not believe that these five nations can produce four thousand men in arms. The savages of themselves therefore would not be much to be dreaded, were they not supported by the English, and the American Tories. As an advanced guard, they are formidable, as an army they are nothing. But their cruelty seems to augment in proportion as their numbers diminish; it is such as to render it impossible for the Americans to consent to have them long for

neighbours ; and a necessary consequence of a peace, if favourable to the Congress, must be their total destruction, or their exclusion at least from all the country within the lakes *. Those who are attached to the Americans, and live in some manner under their laws, such as the Mohawks of the environs of Schenectady, and part of the Oneidas, will ultimately become civilized, and be confounded with them. This is what every feeling and reasonable man should wish, who, preferring the interests of humanity to those of his own celebrity, disdains the little artifice so often and so successfully

* Dr. Franklin, whose amiable and philosophic mind sincerely laments all the evils attendant on humanity, used frequently to regret the painful necessity under which he foresaw America would shortly find herself of using violence against the savages, from the bloody scenes into which they were led by the policy of the English Government. The Translator has often heard him express himself with the utmost sensibility on the subject, and suggest many expedients to prevent the probability of matters being urged to that horrid extremity; but reason, philosophy, and eloquence were in vain opposed by good and wise men to the headlong career of that mad war.

TRANSLATOR.

cessfully employed, of extolling ignorance and poverty, to extort praises in senates and academies.

I had time enough to make these and a great many other reflections, whilst, by the sole light of the snow, I was passing through these majestic woods, where the silence which reigns in the night is seldom disturbed even in the day. I did not arrive at the apartments of the Vicomte de Noailles till near eight o'clock, where supper, tea, and conversation detained me till midnight. Still nothing was decided respecting our journey, and the news we had received was by no means satisfactory. The next morning I received a letter from General Schuyler, to inform me, that having sent the evening before, he was told that I was gone to Schenectady, and from thence to Saratoga; but that he was glad to know I was detained at Albany, for that finding himself much better of his gout, he intended accompanying me the next day. He requested me to come and pass the evening with him, to settle our route, and our departure. I answered his letter, by accept-

ing of all his propositions; and employed part of the morning in walking about Albany, not without taking many precautions, for the streets were covered with ice. My first visit was to the artillery park, or rather the trophies of the Americans; for there is no other artillery in this place than eight handsome mortars, and twenty ammunition waggons, which made part of Burgoyne's artillery*. I entered a large workshop where they were employed in making musquets for the army. The barrels of these musquets, and the bayonets, are forged a few miles from Albany, and polished and finished here. I inquired the price of them, and found that the weapon complete costs about five dollars. The armourers are enlisted, and receive besides their rations, very considerable salaries, if they were well paid. From thence I went to another barrack situated towards the west of the town, which

* The principal part of Burgoyne's artillery was conveyed to Philadelphia, where I saw a very fine park, formed of them and the pieces taken from the Hessians, in various engagements.

which serves as a military hospital. The sick are served by women. Each of them has a separate bed, and they appear in general to be well taken care of, and kept very clean. At dinner all the company who were to be of the Saratoga party collected at my lodgings, and we went afterwards to General Schuyler's to settle matters for our journey, and, in consequence, set out the next day at sunrise, in five different sledges. General Schuyler took me in his own. We passed the Mohawk river on the ice, a mile above the cataract. It was almost the first attempt, and succeeded with all but Major Popham, whose two horses broke through the ice, and sunk into the river. This event will appear fatal to Europeans; but let them not be alarmed at the consequences. It is a very common accident, and is remedied in two ways: one by dragging the horses on the ice by force, and, if possible, by the help of a lever or plank to raise them up; the other by strangling them with their halter, or the reins: as soon as they have lost their respiration, and motion, they float on the water,

and are lifted by their fore-feet on the ice ; the stricture is loosened, they are bled, and in a quarter of an hour are reinstated in the harness. As there were a great many of us, the first method, which is the surest, was employed. All this may be easily conceived, but it will be asked what becomes of the sledge, and how one does to approach the gulph opened by the horses ? The answer is, that these animals being much heavier than the sledge, and supported by four slender bases, break the ice under their feet, without causing the sledge to sink, which is light of itself, and its weight supported by long pieces of wood which serve by way of shafts. The travellers are not less safe, the ice being always thicker than is necessary to bear them. As for the horses, they easily keep themselves up on the surface of the water, by means of their fore-legs, and by resting their heads upon the ice.

The accident which happened to Major Popham's sledge, did not detain us above seven or eight minutes ; but we went a little astray in the woods we had to pass, to reach

reach the high road. We came into it between *Half Moon* and *Stillwater*. A mile from thence, I saw on the left, an opening in the wood, and a pretty extensive plain, below which runs a creek, and observed to General Schuyler, that there must be a good position there: he told me I was not deceived, and that it had been reconnoitred for that purpose in case of need. The creek is called *Anthony's Rill*; the word *rill*, amongst the Dutch, having the same signification as *creek* with the Americans. Three miles farther on, we traversed a hamlet called *Stillwater Landing-place*, for it is here that boats coming down from Saratoga are obliged to stop to avoid the rapids. From hence there is a portage of eight or ten miles to the place where the river is navigable. I imagine the name of *Stillwater* is derived from its tranquillity here previous to the commencement of the rapids. General Schuyler shewed me some redoubts he had constructed to defend the park, where his boats and provisions were collected, after the evacuation of fort *Anne* and fort *Edward*. We stopped there to refresh our horses.

horses. The General had given the rendezvous to a militia officer, called *Swang*, who lives in this neighbourhood, and served in the army of General Gates; he put me into his hands, and continued his route to Saratoga, to prepare our reception. I presently got into a sledge with my guide, and, at the end of three miles, we saw two houses on the bank of the river; it was here that General Gates had his right, and his bridge of boats defended by a redoubt on each bank. We alighted to examine this interesting position, which dissipated all the hopes of Burgoyne, and prepared his ruin. I shall attempt to give some idea of it, which, though incomplete indeed, may throw some light on the relations of General Burgoyne, and even serve to rectify his errors.

The eminencies, called *Breams's Heights*, from whence this famous camp is named, are only a part of those high grounds which extend along the right bank of the Hudson, from the river Mohawk to that of Saratoga. At the spot chosen by General Gates for his position, they form, on the side of
the

the river, two different slopes, or terraces. In mounting the first slope, are three redoubts placed in parallel directions. In front of the last, on the north side, is a little hollow, beyond which the ground rises again, on which are three more redoubts, placed nearly in the same direction as the former. In front of them is a deep ravine which runs from the west, in which is a small creek. This ravine takes its rise in the woods, and all the ground on the right of it is extremely thick set with wood. If you will now return upon your steps, place yourself near the first redoubts I spoke of, and mount to the second slope proceeding to the westward, you will find, on the most elevated platform, a large entrenchment which was parallel with the river, and then turns towards the north-west, where it terminates in some pretty steep summits, which were likewise fortified by small redoubts. To the left of these heights, and at a place where the declivity becomes more gentle, begins another entrenchment which turns towards the west, and makes two or three angles, always carried over
the

the tops of the heights to the south-west. Towards the north-west, you come out of the lines to descend another platform, which presents a position the more favourable, as it commands the surrounding woods, and resists every thing which might turn the left flank of the army. It is here that Arnold was encamped with the advanced guard.

If you descend again from this height, proceeding towards the north, you are presently in the midst of the woods near *Freeman's Farm*, and on the ground where the actions of the 19th of September, and the 7th of October happened. I avoid the word *field of battle*; for these two engagements were in the woods, and on ground so intersected and covered, that it is impossible either to conceive or discover the smallest resemblance between it and the plan given to the public by General Burgoyne. But what appears to me very clear is, that this General, who was encamped about four miles from the camp of *Breams's Heights*, wishing to approach, and reconnoitre the avenues to it, marched through the woods in four columns,

lums, and that having several ravines to pass, he made *General Frazer*, with the advanced guard, turn them at their origin; that two other columns traversed the ravines, and the woods, as well as they could, without either communicating or materially waiting for each other; that the left column, chiefly composed of artillery, followed the course of the river, where the ground is more level, and built bridges over the ravines and rivulets, which are deeper on that side, as they all terminate in the river; that the engagement first began with the *riflemen* and American militia, who were supported as necessity required, without any prior disposition; that the advanced guard, and the right column were the first engaged, and that the combat lasted until the columns on the left arrived, that is to say, till sunset; that the Americans then retired to their camp, where they had taken care to convey their wounded; that the English advanced guard, and the right column greatly suffered; both one and the other having been very long engaged in the woods without any support.

General

General Burgoyne purchased dearly the frivolous honour of sleeping on the field of battle: he now encamped at Freeman's farm, so near the American camp, that it was impossible for him to manœuvre, so that he found himself in the situation of a chess-player, who suffers himself to be stalemated. In this position he remained until the 7th of October, when seeing his provisions expended, hearing nothing of Clinton, and being too near the enemy to retreat without danger, he tried a second attack, and again made an attempt for his advanced guard to turn their left. The enemy, with whom the woods were filled, penetrated his design, themselves turned the left flank of the corps which threatened theirs, put them to rout, and pursued them so far as to find themselves, without knowing it, opposite the camp of the Germans. This camp was situated *en potence*, and a little in the rear of the line. Arnold and Lincoln, animated with success, attacked and carried the entrenchments: both of them bought the victory at the price of their blood; each
of

of them had a leg broke * with musquet shot. I saw the spot where Arnold, uniting the hardiness of a *jockey* † with that of a soldier, leaped his horse over the entrenchment of the enemy. It was like all those of this country, a sort of parapet, formed by the trunks of trees piled one upon another. This action was very brisk, to which the fir trees, which are torn by musquet and cannon shot, will long bear testimony: for the term of their existence seems as remote, as is the period of their origin.

I continued reconnoitring here till night; sometimes walking in the snow, where I sunk to the knees, and sometimes travelling still less successfully in a sledge, my conductor having taken care to overset me, very gently indeed, in a great heap of snow. After surveying Burgoyne's lines, I at length got down to the high road, passing through a field where he had established his hospital. We then travelled more easily, and I got to Saratoga at seven in the evening, after

* Lincoln was not wounded till the next day.

† The name given in America to horse-dealers, as well as those who take care of horses.

ter a seven and thirty miles journey; we found good rooms well warmed, an excellent supper, and had a gay and agreeable conversation; for General Schuyler, like many European husbands, is still more amiable when he is absent from his wife. He gave us instructions for our next day's expedition, as well to Fort *Edward*, as to the great cataract of Hudson's river, eight miles above that fort, and ten from Lake *George*.

In consequence of these arrangements, we set out the next morning at eight o'clock, with the Majors *Græme* and *Popham*, whom he had requested to accompany us. We remounted the right bank of the Hudson for near three miles, before we found a safe place to pass the river in our sledges. That we made choice of exposed us to no danger, the ice being as thick as we could wish it; but on approaching the opposite side, the banks appeared to me so high and steep that I could not conceive how we should get up them. As it is my principle to form no judgment of any thing I do not understand, and always to conform myself in travelling as in navigation, to the persons
who

who are habituated to the roads, I was sitting quietly in my sledge, waiting the event, when my conductor, a farmer of the country, *called* his horses with a ferocious cry, something like that of the savages; and in an instant, without a stroke of the whip, they set off with the sledge, and, in three bounds, were at the top of a precipice, of 20 feet high, nearly perpendicular.

The road to Fort Edward is almost always on the side of the river, but you frequently lose sight of it in the fir-woods you pass through. From time to time you discover tolerable handsome houses on the two banks. That of the unfortunate *Miss Mac Rea*, who was killed by the savages, was pointed out to me. If the whigs were superstitious, they would attribute this event to the divine vengeance. The parents of *Miss Mac Rea* were whigs, nor did she belie the sentiments with which they had inspired her, until she became acquainted with an English officer at New-York, who triumphed at once over her virtue, and her patriotism. From that moment she espoused the interests of England, and waited till she had

an opportunity of marrying her lover. The war which soon extended to New-York, as well as Boston, obliged her father to retire to his country-house, which he abandoned immediately on the approach of Burgoyne's army. But Miss Mac Rea's lover was in this army; she wished to see him again as a conqueror, to marry him, and then partake of his toils and his successes. Unfortunately the Indians composed the vanguard of this army; these savages are not much accustomed to distinguish friends from foes; they pillaged the house of Miss Mac Rea, and carried her off. When they had conducted her to their camp, it was a matter of dispute to whom she should belong; they could not agree, and to terminate the quarrel, some of them killed her with a *tomahawk*. The recital of this sad catastrophe, whilst it made me deplore the miseries of war, concentrated all my interest in the person of the English officer, to whom it was allowable to listen at once to his passion and his duty. I know that a death so cruel and unforeseen, would furnish a very pathetic subject for a drama, or an elegy; but nothing short of the charms of eloquence and

and poetry is capable of moving the heart, for such a destiny, by exhibiting only the effect, and throwing the cause into the shade; for such is the true character of love, that all the noble and generous affections seem to be its natural attendants, and if it be that it can sometimes allay itself with blameable circumstances, every thing at least which tends to humiliate or degrade it, either annihilates or disguises its genuine features.

As you approach Fort Edward the houses become more rare. This fort is built at sixteen miles from Saratoga, in a little valley near the river, on the only spot which is not covered with wood, and where you can have a prospect to the distance of a musquet-shot around you. Formerly it consisted of a square, fortified by two bastions on the east-side, and by two demi-bastions on the side of the river; but this old fortification is abandoned, because it was too much commanded, and a large redoubt, with a simple parapet and a wretched pallisade, is built on a more elevated spot: within are small barracks for about two hundred soldiers. Such is Fort Edward, so much spoken of in Europe, although it could in no time have been

able to resist five hundred men, with four pieces of cannon. I stopped here an hour to refresh my horses, and about noon set off to proceed as far as the cataract, which is eight miles beyond it. On leaving the valley, and pursuing the road to Lake George, is a tolerable military position which was occupied in the war before the last; it is a sort of entrenched camp, adapted to an abattis, guarding the passage from the woods, and commanding the valley.

I had scarcely lost sight of Fort Edward, before the spectacle of devastation presented itself to my eyes, and continued to distress them as far as the place I stopped at. Peace and Industry had conducted cultivators amidst these ancient forests, men content and happy, before the period of this war. Those who were in Burgoyne's way alone experienced the horrors of his expedition; but on the last invasion of the savages, the desolation has spread from Fort Schuyler (or Fort Stanwix), even to Fort Edward. I beheld nothing around me but the remains of conflagrations; a few bricks, proof against the fire, were the only indications

tions of ruined houses; whilst the fences still entire, and cleared out lands, announced that these deplorable habitations had once been the abode of riches, and of happiness. Arrived at the height of the cataract, it was necessary to quit our sledges, and walk half a mile to the bank of the river. The snow was fifteen inches deep, which rendered this walk rather difficult, and obliged us to proceed in Indian files, in order to make a path. Each of us put ourselves alternately at the head of this little column, as the wild geese relieve each other to occupy the summit of the angle they form in their flight. But had our march been still more difficult, the sight of the cataract was an ample recompense. It is not a sheet of water as at *Cohoes*, and at *Totobaw*: the river confined, and interrupted in its course by different rocks, glides through the midst of them, and precipitating itself obliquely, forms several cascades. That of *Cohoes* is more majestic, this more terrible: the Mohawk River seems to fall from its own dead weight; that of Hudson frets, and becomes enraged; it foams and forms

whirlpools, and flies like a serpent making its escape, still continuing its menaces by horrible hissings.

It was near two when we regained our sledges, having two-and-twenty miles to return to Saratoga, so that we trod back our steps as fast as possible; but we still had to halt at Fort Edward to refresh our horses. We employed this time, as we had done in the morning, in warming ourselves by the fire of the officers who command the garrison. They are five in number, and have about one hundred and fifty soldiers. They are stationed in this desert for the whole winter, and I leave the reader to imagine whether this garrison be much more gay than those of Gravelines, or Briançon.* We set off again in an hour, and night soon overtook us; but before it was dark, I had the satisfaction to see the first game I had met with in my journey: it was a bevy of quails, by some called partridges, though they have a much greater resemblance of quails. They were perched, to the number of seven,

* Two of the most melancholy garrisons in France.

seven, upon a fence. I got out of my sledge to have a nearer view of them; they suffered me to approach within four paces, and to make them rise I was obliged to throw my cane at them; they all went off together, in a flight similar to that of partridges, and like them they are sedentary.*

E e 4

Our

* This bird can neither be classed in the species of quails, nor in that of partridges; it is larger than the former, and smaller than the latter; the feathers of the wings and body are nearly of the same colour with the grey partridge, those of the belly are mixed with grey and black, like the *bartavelle*. The neck of the cock is white, that of the hen, yellow; both of them have a handsome black collar. It whistles like a quail, but with more force; and has four notes, whereas the quail has only three. In other respects its manners resemble more those of the red partridge than the quail, for it perches, and is always in a flock; it haunts the woods and morasses. This bird is very common in America, more so to the southward, than in the northern parts. It is no exaggeration to assert that in one winter only, and in a circle of five or six leagues, the officers in winter quarters at Williamsburgh and York, killed upwards of six thousand, and that they bought as many of the negroes, which they had taken in little snares, yet it was difficult to perceive any diminution of their numbers the following spring.

Our return was quick and fortunate : we had no accident to fear but at the second passage of the river, and the descent of the precipice we had mounted. I waited for this fresh trial with as much confidence as the former ; but a sledge, which was before mine, stopping at that place, and the darkness of the night preventing me from distinguishing any thing, I imagined that the company were going to alight ; the first sledge was that of the Vicomte de Noailles, and the Comte de Damas ; but I was scarcely alighted, before I saw this sledge set out with all its lading, and slide down the precipice with such rapidity that it could not be stopped at thirty yards from the bottom. They make no more ceremony in descending these precipices, than in mounting them ; the horses accustomed to this manœuvre, precipitate themselves, as rapidly as they launch off the carriage, so that the sledge sliding like the *Ramasse* of mount Cenis, cannot touch their hind legs and make them fall.

At half past six, we reached General Schuyler's, where we spent our evening as agreeably as the former,

The

The 31st we got on horseback at eight o'clock, and Mr. Schuyler conducted us himself to the camp occupied by the English when General Burgoyne capitulated. We could not have a better guide, but he was absolutely necessary for us in every respect; for besides that this event happened before his eyes, and that he was better able than any body to give us an account of it, no person but the proprietor of the ground himself was able to conduct us safely through the woods; the fences and entrenchments being covered a foot deep with snow.

In throwing your eyes upon the chart, you will see that Saratoga is situated on the bank of a small river which comes from a lake of that name, and falls into the Hudson. On the right bank of the *Fish-Kill*, the name of that little river, stood formerly a handsome country-house belonging to General Schuyler; a large farm depending on it, two or three saw-mills, a meeting-house, and three or four middling houses, composed all the habitations of this celebrated place, the name of which will be handed down to the latest posterity. After

the affair of the 7th of October, General Burgoyne began his retreat; he marched in the night between the 8th and 9th, but did not pass the creek till the 13th, so much difficulty he had in dragging his artillery, which he *persisted in preserving*, although the greatest part of his horses were killed, or dead with hunger. He took four days therefore to retire eight miles, which *gave the Americans time* to follow him on the right bank of the Hudson, and to get before him on the left bank, where they occupied in force all the passages. General Burgoyne had scarcely reached the other side of the creek, before he set fire to General Schuyler's house, *rather from malice*, than for the safety of his army;* since this house,

* This is a matter in which General Burgoyne's honour, and humanity, seem to be directly called in question. The General in his examination of witnesses on the inquiry into the failure of his expedition before the House of Commons, was particularly anxious to exculpate himself on the subject, and to prove not only that it always was *necessary* in a military point of view to destroy this house, but that General Schuyler himself afterwards admitted that *necessity*—in opposition to which we have here the assertion of

house, situated in a bottom, *could afford no advantage to the Americans*; and he left the farm

a man of rank distinguished in the military and literary world, as well as the General, who on the testimony of General Schuyler, asserts, "*Que le General Burgoyne fut à peine de l'autre côté de la creek, qu'il fit mettre le feu à la maison du General Schuyler, plutôt par humblur, que pour la sûreté de son armé; &c. &c.*"

The Translator knows General Burgoyne to be a soldier of honour, who in that capacity never wishes to forget the paramount duties of the citizen, and the man; the Marquis de Chastellux, too, deservedly stands high in the public estimation; it is with infinite concern, therefore, that the Translator finds himself unable to refute the injurious assertion, or reconcile the contradiction. That the matter may be fairly brought to issue, he subjoins an extract from General Burgoyne's speech in the House of Commons, in answer to "a call upon him by Mr. Wilkes, for explanation respecting the burning of the country during the progress of the army under his command." "I am ignorant, said the General, of
"any such circumstance: I do not recollect more
"than one accident by fire; I positively assert there
"was no fire by order, or countenance of myself,
"or any other officer, except at Saratoga. That
"district is the property of Major General Schuyler
"of the American troops; there were large barracks
"built by him, which took fire the day after the
"army arrived on the ground in their retreat; and

farm standing, which is at present the only
asylum for the owner. It is here that Mr.
Schuyler

“I believe I need not state any other proof of that
“matter being merely accident, than that the bar-
“racks were then made use of as my hospital, and
“full of sick and wounded soldiers. General
“Schuyler had likewise a very good dwelling-house,
“exceeding large storehouses, great saw-mills, and
“other out-buildings, to the value altogether per-
“haps of *ten thousand pounds*: a few days before
“the negotiation with General Gates, the enemy
“had formed a plan to attack me: a large column
“of troops was approaching to pass the small rivers,
“preparatory to a general action, and was *entirely*
“*covered from the fire of my artillery by those buildings.*
“Sir, I avow that I gave the order to set them on
“fire; and in a very short time the whole property
“I have described was consumed. But, to shew
“that the person most deeply concerned in that ca-
“lamity did not put the construction upon it which
“it has pleased the honourable Gentleman to do, I
“must inform the House, that one of the first per-
“sons I saw, after the convention was signed, was
“*General Schuyler.* I expressed to him my regret at
“the event which had happened, and the reasons
“which occasioned it. He desired me to think no
“more of it; said *that the occasion justified it, accord-*
“*ing to the principles and rules of war, and he*
“*should have done the same upon the same occasion, or*
“words to that effect. He did more—he sent an
“Aide de Camp to conduct me to Albany, in or-

Schuyler lodged us in some temporary apartments he fitted up, until happier times allow him to build another house. The creek runs between two steep ascents, the summits of which are about the same height; it then descends by several rapids which turn the mills; there the ground is more open, and continues so to the north river; that is to say, for half a mile. As to General Burgoyne's position, it is difficult to describe it, because the ground is so very irregular, and the General finding himself surrounded, was obliged to divide his troops into three camps, forming three different fronts;

“der, as he expressed, to procure me better quarters
 “than a stranger might be able to find. This gentleman conducted me to a very elegant house, and,
 “to my great surprise, presented me to Mrs. Schuyler and her family: and in this General's house I
 “remained during my whole stay at Albany, with a
 “*table of more than twenty covers* for me and my
 “friends, and every other possible demonstration of
 “hospitality; a situation painful as it is true in point of
 “sensibility at the time, but which I now contemplate
 “with some satisfaction, as carrying undeniable testimony
 “how little I deserved the charges of the honourable gentleman.”

TRANSLATOR.

fronts; one facing the creek, another Hudson's river, and the third the mountains to the westward. General Burgoyne's plan gives a tolerable just idea of this position, which was not ill taken, and is only defective on the side of the Germans, where the ground forms a rising, the declivity of which was against them. All that it is necessary to observe is, that the woods continually rise towards the west; so that the General might very well occupy some advantageous eminences, but never the summits. Accordingly, General Gates, who arrived at Saratoga almost as soon as the English, passed two thousand men over the creek, with orders to begin to fire on the 14th and considerably incommode the English. General Schuyler criticises this position; he pretends that this corps so advanced as to be in danger, without being strong enough to oppose the retreat of the enemy. But when we consider that these two thousand men were posted in very thick woods; that they were protected by abattis; had a secure retreat in the immense forest in their rear, and that they had only to harass a flying enemy,

enemy, whose courage was broken, every military man will think with me that this was rather the criticism of a severe rival, than of a well informed and methodical tactician. Be this as it may, it is very certain that Burgoyne had no other alternative than to let his troops be slaughtered, or capitulate. His army had only five days provision, and it was impossible for him to retain his position. It was proposed to him to restore an old bridge of boats, which had been constructed in the very front of his camp; but a corps of two thousand men were already posted on the heights on the opposite side of the river, where they had raised a battery of two pieces of cannon. Had he undertaken to remount by the right bank, to attain the fords which are near Fort Edward, he had ravines to pass and bridges to repair; besides that these defiles were already occupied by the militia, and the vanguard alone must have been engaged with them, whilst he had a whole army in his rear, and on his flanks. He had scarce time to deliberate, the cannon shot began to shower into the camp; one
of

of which fell in the house where the council of war was holding, and obliged them to quit it to take refuge in the woods.

Let us now compare the situation of General Burgoyne, collecting his trophies, and publishing his insolent manifesto at Ticonderoga, with that in which he now stood, when vanquished, and surrounded as he was by a troop of peasants, not a place was left him even to discuss the terms of supplication. I confess that when I was conducted to the spot where the English laid down their arms, and to that where they filed off before Gates's army, I could not but partake of the triumph of the Americans, and at the same time admire their magnanimity; for the soldiers and officers beheld their presumptuous and sanguinary enemies pass, without offering the smallest insult, without suffering an insulting smile or gesture to escape them. This majestic silence conveyed a very striking refutation of the vain declarations of the English General, and seemed to attest all the rights of our allies to the victory. Chance alone gave rise to an allusion with which General Burgoyne

Burgoyne was very sensibly affected. It is the custom in England, and in America, on approaching any person for the first time, to say, *I am very happy to see you*: General Gates chanced to make use of this expression in accosting General Burgoyne: *I believe you are*, replied the General, *the fortune of the day is entirely yours*. General Gates pretended to give no attention to this answer, and conducted Burgoyne to his quarters, where he gave him a good dinner, as well as to the principal part of the English officers. Every body ate and drank heartily, and seemed mutually to forget their misfortunes, or their successes.

Before dinner, and at the moment when the Americans were striving who should entertain the English officers, somebody came to ask where Madame *Reidesel*, the wife of the Brunswick General, was to be conducted. Mr. Schuyler, who had followed the army as a volunteer, since he had quitted the command, ordered her to be shewn to his tent, where he went soon after, and found her trembling and speechless, expecting to find in every American a

savage, like those who had followed the English army. She had with her two charming little girls, about six or seven years old. General Schuyler caressed them greatly; the sight of this touched Madame de Reidesel and removed her apprehension in an instant: *You are tender and sensible, said she, you must then be generous, and I am happy to have fallen into your hands.*

In consequence of the capitulation, the English army was conducted to Boston. During their march the troops encamped, but lodgings were to be procured for the Generals, and there being some difficulty in procuring near Albany a proper quarter for General Burgoyne and his suite, Mr. Schuyler offered him his handsome house. He was himself detained by business at Saratoga, where he remained to visit the ruins of his other house, which General Burgoyne had just destroyed; but he wrote to his wife to prepare every thing for giving him the best reception, and his intentions were perfectly fulfilled. Burgoyne was extremely well received by Mrs. Schuyler, and her little family; he was lodged in the best
I apartment

apartment in the house. An excellent supper was served him in the evening, the honours of which were done with so much grace, that he was affected even to tears; and could not help saying, with a deep sigh, *Indeed this is doing too much for the man who has ravaged their lands, and burnt their asylum.* The next morning, however, he was again reminded of his disgraces by an adventure which would have appeared gay to any one but him. It was always innocently that he was afflicted. His bed was prepared in a large room; but as he had a numerous suite, or *family*, several mattresses were spread upon the floor for some officers to sleep near him. Mr. Schuyler's second son, a little spoilt child of about seven years old, very forward and arch, as all the American children are, but very amiable, was running all the morning about the house, according to custom, and opening the door of the saloon, he burst out a laughing on seeing all the English collected, and, shut it after him, crying, *Ye are all my prisoners: this stroke of nature was*

cruel, and rendered them more melancholy than the preceding evening.

I hope I shall be pardoned these little anecdotes, which only appeared interesting to myself, perhaps solely from their proceeding from the source, and being acquired upon the spot. Besides, a plain journal merits some indulgence, and when one does not write history, it is allowable to write little stories. Henceforth I have only to take leave of General Schuyler, detained by business at Saratoga, and to tread back my steps as fast as possible to Newport.

In repassing near Breams's Height, and Stillwater, I had again an opportunity of examining the right flank of General Burgoyne's camp, of which it seemed to me that his plan gives a pretty accurate idea. I was assured that I might return to Albany by the eastern road, but on arriving at *Half Moon*, I learnt that the ice was broke in several places, so that after reposing some time in a handsome inn, kept by Madam *People*, a Dutchman's widow, I took the road by the Mohawk river, which I passed without accident, and arrived at Albany about

about six in the evening. We immediately assembled (I speak only of the six French travellers) to concert measures for our return. Not a moment was to be lost, for the wind having got to the southward, the thaw was beginning; and it might very well happen that we should be detained a considerable time at Albany: for, when you cannot pass the river on the ice, you are sometimes obliged to wait eight or ten days before it is navigable, and you can pass the ferry. It was necessary therefore to set out immediately; but as we were too many to travel together, it was determined that the Vicomte de Noailles and his two companions should set off the next morning at day-break, and sleep thirty miles from Albany; and that I should set out at noon, and stay all night at *Kinderhook*. The Vicomte de Noailles had left his horses on the other side of the river, and had already sent over his sledge, nothing therefore stood in the way of his departure, the ice being certainly thick enough for him to pass on foot. My situation was very different; I had, at Albany, two sledges, which belonged

to the State, and were furnished me by the Aid-Quarter Master General, an excellent man, called *Quakerbush*. My intention was to pay for them; but he would not allow it, assuring me that I had only to deliver them to the Quarter-Master of Rhode island, who would return them by the first opportunity. This is a very convenient arrangement for the military on the continent, and for all such as are employed in commissions for the public service: each State maintains horses for travelling, nothing more being requisite than to deliver them to the Quarter-Master of the place at which you leave them. In the Northern States, there are sledges also for the same purpose.

As we were deliberating on our journey, Colonel *Hughes*, Quarter-Master of the State of New-York, came to call upon us: he had just arrived from an expedition towards Fish-Kill, and testified great regret at not having been at Albany during our stay. I must repeat here what I have already said, that it is impossible to imagine a more frank, and more noble politeness, a more courteous behaviour, than I experienced from

from the greatest part of the American officers with whom I had any concern. Mr. Hughes was so good as to undertake to conduct me to the other side of the river, and promised to call upon me the next day at eleven o'clock.

I had travelled far enough in the day to hope for a quiet sleep, but, at four in the morning, I was awakened by a musquet fired close to my windows: I listened, but heard not the smallest noise, or motion in the street, which made me imagine it was some musquet discharged of itself without causing any accident. I again attempted to go to sleep, but a quarter of an hour after a fresh musquet or pistol shot interrupted my repose; this was followed by several others; so that I had no longer any doubt that it was some rejoicing, or feast, like our village christenings. The hour indeed struck me as unusual, but at length a number of voices mingled with musquetry, crying out, *new year*, reminded me that we were at the first of January, and I concluded that it was thus the Americans celebrate that event. Though this manner of proclaiming it was

not, I must own, very pleasing to me, there was nothing for it but patience; but at the end of half an hour, I heard a confused noise of upwards of a hundred persons, chiefly children, or young people, assembled under my windows, and I very soon had farther indication of their proximity, for they fired several musquet shot, knocked rudely at the door, and threw stones against my windows. Cold and indolence still kept me in bed, but Mr. Lynch got up, and came into my chamber to tell me that these people certainly meant to do me honour, and get some money from me. I desired him to step down, and give them two Louis; he found them already masters of the house, and drinking my landlord's rum. In a quarter of an hour, they went off to visit other streets, and continued their noise till day-light. On rising, I learnt from my landlord, that it was the custom of the country for the young folks, the servants, and even the negroes, to go from tavern to tavern, and to other houses, to wish a good new year, and ask for drink, so that there was no particular compliment to me in this affair,

affair, and I found that, after the example of the Roman Emperors, I had made a largess to the people. In the morning, when I went out to take leave of General Clinton, I met nothing but drunken people in the streets, but what astonished me the most was to see them not only walk, but run upon the ice without falling, or making a false step, whilst it was with the utmost difficulty I kept upon my legs.

As soon as my sledges were ready, I took one of them to go and bid adieu to Mrs. Schuyler, and her family, whence I returned to Colonel Hughes, who was waiting for me at the entrance of the town. He had learnt, since he left us, that the Baron de Montesquieu was grandson of the author of *the Spirit of Laws*. Rejoiced at this discovery, he desired me to introduce him a second time to the gentleman who bore so respectable a name; and a few minutes after, as I was expressing my sensibility for the services he had done us, and my regret at the same time at not having it in my power to repay them, he said to me with a sentiment truly amiable, "Well then!"
"since

“ since you wish to do something for me,
“ try to procure a French copy of the Spi-
“ rit of Laws. I do not speak your lan-
“ guage, but I understand your books, and
“ shall be happy to read that in the origi-
“ nal.” I proposed to send him a copy, and
have been so lucky as to be able to fulfil
my promise on my return to Newport. Af-
ter this conversation he took me to the river-
side, at the place he thought the safest ; but,
as I was about to venture myself, the first
object I beheld was a sledge, the horses of
which were sinking under the ice, at twen-
ty paces from me. Judge of my consterna-
tion ; I must tread back my steps, and re-
main perhaps a week at Albany till the
thaw was complete, and the river free from
floating ice. Colonel Hughes bid me to
return to my inn, and remain there quietly,
until he sent a man and horse along the
river to inquire for a place to pass over.
Three sledges, however, with rum for the
state storehouses appeared on the other side,
and seemed determined to risk the passage,
but he sent a man on foot to stop them, af-
ter which I left him sorrowfully enough.
About

About one o'clock, as I was reading by my fireside, Mr Hughes's Secretary entered, and told me that the sledges he had sent to stop, had persisted in passing, and succeeded by avoiding the hole made by the horses I had seen sinking, and which were extricated with great difficulty. As the thaw continued, I had not a moment to lose, the horses were instantly put to, and I set out, under the auspices of Colonel Hughes, who was waiting for me at the river-side. As soon as I got over, I parted from him; but had still half a mile to go upon the ice, before I could get to a landing place which led me to the high road; all danger was now over, and I reached Kinderhook with ease towards six o'clock.

I set out the next morning at nine, and after passing the bridge of Kinderhook, left the Clavarack road on the right, to follow that of *Nobletown*. I stopped in this township, and alighted at *Makingston's Tavern*, a small neat inn, in which two travellers may be conveniently lodged. Having an opportunity of conversing with the cousin and neighbour of Mr. Makingston, of the
same

same name with himself; he told me he had been a Major in the American army, and received a ball through his thigh in Canada. He said that his nerves, irritated with the wound, became contracted, and he halted for upwards of a year; but that at the affair of Prince-Town, after travelling eighteen miles on foot, he happening to leap over a fence, by this effort the contracted nerves broke or rather lengthened themselves, so that he has never since been lame.

As soon as my horses had rested a little, I continued my journey, and travelling amongst woods and mountains, it was night before I got to *Sheffield*. I traversed this whole town, which is about two miles long, before I got to Mr. *Dewy's* inn. *Sheffield* is a very pretty place, there are a good many well-built houses, and the high road that separates them is upwards of a hundred paces wide. My inn gave me pleasure the moment I entered it; the master and mistress of the house appeared polite and well educated; but I admired above all a girl of twelve years old, who had all the beauty of her age, and whom *Greuze* would have been happy

happy to have taken for a model, when he painted his charming picture of the young girl crying for the loss of her canary bird. When I was shewn into my chamber, I amused myself in looking at some books scattered on the tables. The first I opened was the Abridgment of Newton's Philosophy: this discovery induced me to put some questions to my landlord on physics, and geometry, with which I found him well acquainted, and that he was besides very modest, and very good company. He is a *surveyor*, a very active employment in a country where there is perpetually land to measure, and boundaries to fix.

The 3d in the morning, I was sorry to find that the weather, which had been hitherto uncertain, was ended in a thaw. I had to traverse the *green woods*, a rugged, difficult, and desert country. The snow remaining on the ground, and giving me still hopes of being able to continue my route in a sledge, I kept mine, and proceeded tolerably well as far as *Canaan*, a small town situated on the left bank of the *Housatonic*, seven miles from *Sheffield Meeting-house*; there

there I turned to the left, and began to climb the mountains; unfortunately the snow failed me where it was the most necessary, and I was obliged to walk almost always on foot to relieve my horses, which were sometimes labouring to drag the sledge out of the mud, and at others to pull it over stones two or three feet high. This road is, in fact, so rough, that it is hardly possible to make use of sledges, unless there be a foot and a half of snow upon the ground. It was with the utmost difficulty therefore I travelled fifteen miles to a wretched inn dependent on *Norfolk*. On leaving this inn, I got into the green woods. This forest is part of the same chain of mountains I had passed in going to Fish-Kill by the Litchfield road; but here the trees are superb; they are firs, but so strong, so straight and lofty, that I doubt whether there are any like them in all North America. I regret that *Salvator Rosa*, or *Gaspard Poussin*, never saw the majestic and truly *grandioso* picture a deep valley here affords, through which runs the small river called the *Naragontad*. This valley appears

pears still more narrow from the immense firs that shade it ; some of which, rising in an oblique direction, seem to unite their tops purposely to intercept the rays of the sun. When you have passed this river, you mount for four or five miles, and then descend as much ; continually bounding from one large stone to another which cross the road, and give it the resemblance of stairs. Here one of my sledges broke, and night approaching, I was at a loss how to repair it, imagining myself in an uninhabitable desert ; I tried to get it forward broken as it was, but despaired of succeeding, when two hundred steps further on, I found a small house, and opposite to it a forge, where the fire was lighted, and the blacksmith at work. A pilot who discovers land in unknown seas, is not more happy than I was at this sight. I politely requested the honest man to leave his work and repair my sledge, which he agreed to, and I continued to follow that in good condition on foot, despairing of ever seeing the other, which arrived however an hour after me. Such are the resources travellers meet with in America, and
such

such the excellent police* of this country, that no road is destitute of what is necessary for their wants.

This day was destined to be full of contrarieties. It was seven in the evening when

* The word *police* is certainly inapplicable in this case, although the fact be, as the Marquis states it. The respective governments of America never dreamt of compelling persons to keep public houses, or blacksmith's, and wheelwright's shops, nor could such a regulation be enforced without infinite difficulty, even in established and arbitrary governments. A moment's reflection, but above all, a knowledge of the constitutions, and the nature of the country, may convince any person that this assertion, which is repeated in this work, can only be the result of misinformation, or misapprehension. I have said that the existence of these resources is a fact, having experienced their utility and frequency in all parts of the country, but this arises from the necessity of such occupations, in the innumerable new settlements which are spread over great part of the continent, wherein every settler is obliged, more or less, to be a handicraftsman, and where they are all compelled mutually to administer to each other's wants. In them too, the publican, who is so far from being precluded from other pursuits, that he frequently becomes the first farmer, the first magistrate, the first military officer of the district, is a necessary appendage. TRANSLATOR.

when I arrived at *New Hartford*, where I expected to find a good inn, called *Gilbert's house*. Three American officers, who, having rode on horseback, had very easily passed me, were so polite as to go further on, in order to leave me the whole house; but I was told, and it was evident on entering, that it was impossible I could be accommodated. The masons were repairing it, and at work every where: so that I had now no other hope but at the inn of a Mr. *Cafe*, two miles further, beyond Farmington-river; but learning that the American officers were there, I inquired whether I could not be lodged elsewhere, and was recommended to an old woman, called Mrs. *Wallen*, who formerly kept an inn, and I was flattered with hopes of her receiving me. I continued therefore to follow my sledge on foot, and having, with difficulty, reached this house, I implored Mrs. Wallen's hospitality, who consented, but merely to oblige me. I remained here some time, but finding it a very poor house, and the apartments wretched, I sent one of my people to Cafe's, to try if he could find me some corner to

lodge in. They contrived to let me have one, and I went thither on foot, leaving my horses at the other house. I was lucky enough to find a good bed, and a supper, such as it was, but which appeared to me excellent, less because I had a good appetite, than from being waited on by a tall woman of five-and-twenty, handsome, and of a noble appearance. I inquired of my landlady if she was her daughter, but she, a good, fat woman, very industrious and talkative, and who had taken me into favour for giving ready answers to the questions she had put, told me she had never had any children, although she then had one in her arms, which she was dandling and caressing. To whom does that belong then? said I. To the tall woman you see, replied she—And who is her husband?—She has none—She is a widow then?—No, she was never married. It is an unlucky affair, too long to tell you: the poor girl was in want, I took her to live with me and provide for the mother and child.—Is it advancing a paradox to say, that such conduct proves, more than

than any thing, the pure and respectable manners of the Americans? With them vice is so strange, and so rare, that the danger of example has almost no effect; so that a fault of this nature is regarded only as an accidental error, of which the individual, attacked with it, must be cured, without taking any measures to escape the contagion. I must add too, that the acquisition of a citizen in this country is so precious, that a girl, by bringing up her child, seems to expiate the weakness which brought it into existence. Thus morality, which can never differ from the real interest of society, appears sometimes to be local and modified by times and circumstances. When an infant without an asylum, and without property, shall become a burthen to the state, a being devoted to misfortune, owing its preservation to pity alone, and not to the public utility, we shall then see the mother humbled, nay perhaps punished, and this severity will then be vindicated here, as well as elsewhere, by all those austere dogmas which at present are neglected or forgotten.*

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* It is to be hoped that it will be long, very long ere the *barbarous* prejudices and punishments of po-

I proposed making a short journey the next day to Hartford, fifteen miles only from the place I slept at, but it seeming to me impossible to perform it except on horse-back, I left the two State sledges with Mr. Case, taking a receipt from him, which I afterwards delivered to Mr. Wadsworth. At first I was not satisfied with the exchange, as I travelled some time on heights covered with snow, well calculated for the sledge, but

lished Europe shall be introduced into this happy country. At present, the natural commerce between the sexes universally takes place, to the exclusion of exotic vices, and without involving the weak and unprotected female in all the horrors of shame, misery, and child-murder. Here libertinism is by no means the consequence of an accidental frailty, nor is the mother, who, in following the strong impulse of Nature, has given a member to society, thrown an out-cast upon the world, lost to herself, and compelled to become vicious. The error of passion, though condemned, is venial, and she is neither driven to despair by cruelty, nor excluded from the sweet prospect of giving birth to future offspring, under the sanction of every legitimate and sacred title. Nothing is more common in this country, than such slips in the first violence of an early puberty, nor less frequent than a repetition of the same weakness.

TRANSLATOR.

but on descending towards Farmington river, I found the thaw complete, and mud instead of snow. The woods I had just passed through, were very different from the *Greenwoods*; they were full of small firs, whose verdant hue pleased the eye, and the road was by accident so prettily laid out, that it is impossible to imagine a better model for walks in the English style.

When I had passed Farmington river, I mounted a pretty long and steep hill, on which I observed, from time to time, objects interesting to the lovers of natural history. You see, amongst other things, large masses of rocks, or rather vast blocks of stone, which have no sort of correspondence with the rest of the mountain, and appear as if they had been launched there by some volcano. I remarked one more singular than the rest, and stopped to measure it: it is a sort of *socle*, or long square, thirty feet long by twenty high, and as many wide, not unlike the pedestal of the statue of Peter the Great one sees at Petersburg. On the east side, it is split from top to bottom, the crack is about a foot and a half wide at the top, but much

less at bottom. Some shrubs vegetate in the little earth there is, and on the very summit of the rock grows a small tree, but I could not tell of what species. The stone is hard, of the nature of quartz, and is no wise volcanized.

I got to Hartford about three, and being informed that Mr. Wadsworth was absent, I was afraid of incommoding his wife and sister by going to lodge there, and went to a very good inn kept by Mr. Bull, who is accused of being rather *on the other side of the question*; a polite method of designating a tory. I only made a transient visit therefore to Mrs. Wadsworth, to invite myself to breakfast the next morning. The 5th I did not set out till eleven, although I had thirty miles journey to Lebanon. At the passage of the Ferry, I met with a detachment of the Rhode Island regiment, the same corps we had with us all the last summer, but they have since been recruited and clothed. The greatest part of them are negroes or mulattoes; but they are strong, robust men, and those I have seen had a very good appearance. We had fine weather

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ther all day, and got to Lebanon at sunset. Not that I got to *Lebanon Meeting-house*, where the Duke de Lauzun was quartered with his Hussars, that was six miles farther still travelling in Lebanon. Who would not think after this, that I am speaking of an immense city? and in fact, this is one of the most considerable towns in the country, for it consists of at least one hundred houses; but it is unnecessary to add, that they are much scattered, and distant from each other frequently more than four or five hundred paces.

It will be easily imagined that I was not sorry to find myself in the French army, of which these Hussars formed the advanced guard, although their quarters be seventy-five miles from Newport; but there are no circumstances in which I should not be happy with M. de Lauzun. For two months I had been talking, and listening, with him I conversed: for it must be allowed that conversation is still the peculiar forte of the amiable French; a precious appendage for our nation, which it neglects possibly too much, and may one day chance to forfeit.

It is told of an Englishman accustomed to be silent, that he said, *talking spoils conversation*. This whimsical expression contains great sense: every body can talk, but nobody knows how to listen; insomuch that the society of Paris, such as I left it, resembles the chorus of an opera, which a few *coryphées* alone have a right to interrupt; each theatre has its particular coryphæus; each theatre has its chorus too, which chime in, and its pit which applaud without knowing why. Transplant the actors, or change the theatre, the effect of the piece is lost. Fortunate for the spectators, when the stock is abundant, and they are not fatiated with a repetition of the same production.

But I am got very far from America, where I must return however, if it be only to hunt a few squirrels. The Duke de Lauzun entertained me with this diversion, which is much in fashion in this country. These animals are large, and have a more beautiful fur than those in Europe; like ours, they are very adroit in slipping from tree to tree, and in clinging so closely to the branches as to become almost invisible. You frequently
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wound them, without their falling; but that is a slight inconvenience, for you have only to call or send for somebody, who applies the hatchet to the tree, and presently knocks it down. As squirrels are not rare, you will conclude then, and very justly, that trees are very common.* On returning from the chase, I dined at the Duke de Lauzun's, with Governor *Turnbull* and General Huntingdon. The former lives at Lebanon, and the other had come from *Norwich*. I have already painted Governor *Turnbull*,

* There are also a great number of *flying squirrels* in Connecticut. They are smaller than the others, which they greatly resemble in their form and skin. Every body knows that they are called flying squirrels from the facility with which they support themselves a long time in the air, by means of a long membrane, or skin, attached to the lower part of their feet: when they are in action this is folded up under their bellies; but when they want to leap from one tree to another, they spread their feet, and this skin forms a kind of sail which supports them in the air, and assists them even in their motion. There is also throughout North America another sort of squirrels, called *land squirrels*, because they do not climb the trees, but burrow in the earth like rabbits. Their hair is shorter, and of a deer colour, striped with black. These animals are very pretty, and not wild.

Turnbull, at present you have only to represent to yourself this little old man, in the antique dress of the first settlers in this colony, approaching a table furrounded by twenty Hussar officers, and without either disconcerting himself, or losing any thing of his formal stiffness, pronouncing, in a loud voice, a long prayer in the form of a *benedicite*. Let it not be imagined that he excites the laughter of his auditors; they are too well trained: you must, on the contrary, figure to yourself twenty *amens* issuing at once from the midst of forty mustaches,* and you will have some idea of this little scene. But M. de Lauzun is the man to relate, how this good, methodical Governor, didactic in all his actions, invariably says, that he will *consider*; that he must *refer* to his council; how of little affairs he makes great ones, and how happy a mortal he is when he has any to transact. Thus, in the two hemispheres, *Paris alone excepted*, ridicule must not imply inaptitude to

* The Hussars of Lauzun's legion, and the Duke himself wore mustaches in America. TRANSLATOR.

to govern, since it is by the character men govern, and by the character men make themselves ridiculous.

I proposed leaving Lebanon the 7th at ten o'clock, but the weather was so bad that I staid till past one, expecting it to clear up; I was obliged, however, to set out at last in a melting snow, the most continued, and the coldest I ever experienced. The bad weather urged me on so fast, that I arrived at Voluntown about five o'clock. If the reader recollects what I have said at the beginning of my journal of Mr. Dorrance's house, he will not be surpris'd at my returning to it with pleasure. Miss Pearce however was no longer there, but she was replaced by the youngest Miss Dorrance, a charming pretty girl, although not so regular a beauty as her friend. She has, like her, modesty, candour, and beauty in all her features; and has, besides, a serenity mixed with gaiety, which render her as amiable as the other is interesting. Her eldest sister had laid in since I was last at Voluntown; she was in a great chair, near the fire, around which her family were seated. Her noble
and

and commanding countenance seemed more changed by misfortune than by suffering; yet every body about her was employed in consoling and taking care of her; her mother, seated by her, held in her arms the infant, smiling at it, and caressing it; but as for her, her eyes were sorrowfully fixed upon the little innocent, eying it with interest, but without pleasure, as if she were saying to it, *misero paragoletto il tuo destin, non sai.** Never did a more interesting or more moral picture exercise the pencil of a Greuze, or the pen of a tender poet. May that man be banished from the bosom of society who could be so barbarous as to leave this amiable girl a prey to a misfortune which it is in his power to repair; and may every benediction which heaven can bestow be showered on the being, generous and just enough to give her more legitimate titles to the hallowed names of wife and mother, and thus restore her to all that happiness, which Nature had designed her.†

My

* Unhappy child! thou knowest not the lot that is reserved for thee. *Metastasio.* *Demophoon.*

† See what is said on this subject, in a note at the commencement of this Journal.

My journey henceforward affords nothing worthy of the smallest attention. I slept next day at Providence, and arrived the 9th at Newport; satisfied with having seen many interesting things, without meeting with any accident; but with a sorrowful reflection that the place I arrived at, after travelling so far, was still fifteen hundred leagues from that where I had left my friends; where I shall enjoy the little knowledge I have acquired, by sharing it with them; where I shall again be happy, if there still be any happiness in store for me; the only place, in short, *dove da longhi errori spero di riposar.**

* I wish to recompense those who shall have the patience to complete the perusal of this Journal, by laying before them the charming passage of *Metastasio* from whence these words are borrowed.

L'Onda dal mar divisa
Begna la valla e il monte,
Va passagiere in fiume
Va prigioniera in fonte;
Mormora sempre e geme
Fin che non torna al mar.

Al

Al mar dove ella nacque
 Dove acquisto' gli umori
 Dove da lunghi errori
 Spera di reposar.

The following is a free translation:

The wave once separated from the sea, strays over the mountains, or bathes the vallies: anon it travels with the rivers, &c. now is kept prisoner in the fountains; but it never ceases to murmur and complain until it returns unto the sea.

To the sea its native abode, to the sea its last asylum, where fatigued after its long wanderings, it hopes at length to find some repose.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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